



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 2 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 2

FBI

Date: 7/24/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

Re Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED] dated 5/23/69, and Bureau airtels dated 6/25/69, and 7/17/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies and San Francisco 2 copies of 12 letterhead memoranda, three of which concern BPP activities at Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, N. C. The other 9 contain information as furnished by [REDACTED] concerning BPP activities, along with corroborating information where available.

The T-symbols used in each LHM identify the same informant and are as follows:

[REDACTED] and information located in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], Charlotte, N. C., by request, and information located in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], protected by request, and information located in [REDACTED]

And information located in [REDACTED]

- (2) - Bureau (105-165706 - Sub 8) (Encls. 96) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (Encls. 24) (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

THG:cbw
(6)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION

1cc to LHM - CHAR. - 10/14/69

14 JUL 28 1969

30 AUG 18 1969

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-54 page 2

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Priority _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The LHM containing information from CE T-1, [REDACTED]
CE T-6, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were classified
Confidential, Group 1, in order to protect the identities
of these extremely sensitive sources. The unauthorized
disclosure of their identities would be detrimental to the best
interest of the internal security of the United States.

-3-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

The following information concerns the activities of individuals at Charlotte, North Carolina, who desire affiliation with the Black Panther Party, Berkeley, California: (

On December 13, 1968, CE T-1 advised that an individual, known only as [REDACTED] had recently contacted the headquarters of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Oakland, California, and advised that he represented an organization known as the Afro-American Unity Organization, Charlotte, North Carolina, which desired to affiliate with the BPP. [REDACTED] was told that it would be necessary for him to forward the amount of \$300 to the national headquarters in order that a representative of the national office of the BPP could travel to Charlotte, North Carolina, to indoctrinate the new members. [REDACTED] furnished his telephone number as [REDACTED] and his address as [REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina, and advised that he would attempt to obtain the necessary funds and recontact the national headquarters.

On December 30, 1968, CE T-2 advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina.

On December 30, 1968, CE T-3 advised that [REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina, had no record concerning the Afro-American Unity Organization at Charlotte, however, [REDACTED] advised that JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON, also known as "The Fox", a Negro male, [REDACTED] at Charlotte, North Carolina, reportedly held a meeting on the Johnson C. Smith University campus, Charlotte, North Carolina.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

Downgrading and
declassification

54
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

on December 2, 1968, where he was introduced as a member of the BPP movement.

On [REDACTED] reported that HAROLD AVENT, also known as NUNDING, has invited a group of Black Panther Party members from Charlotte, North Carolina, to attend a meeting at Greensboro, North Carolina, on [REDACTED] 1969.

On [REDACTED] reported that a meeting of Greensboro members of the BPP was held at [REDACTED] Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by approximately [REDACTED] and two individuals from Charlotte appeared. These two individuals, JEROME JOHNSON and BEN CHAVIS, actually arrived too late for the meeting but were greeted as brothers by NUNDING and the others.

On [REDACTED] advised that the Afro-American Unity Organization's finances are not known, however, no efforts have been made to gather finances other than the small amounts donated by the members.

On [REDACTED] 1969 [REDACTED] advised that during [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] were held by members of the Afro-American Unity Organization at Charlotte. [REDACTED] have been scheduled until such time as they obtain their charter from the BPP, Oakland, California.

On February 21, 1969, [REDACTED] reported that HAROLD AVENT, reportedly a Field Marshal of the BPP from Greensboro, North Carolina, spoke at a Malcolm X Day Commemoration service at Johnson C. Smith University. During his speech, AVENT was critical of the portraits of white persons hanging on the walls of the auditorium. The people portrayed in these portraits were the founders of the institution, a predominantly Negro college, and AVENT stated the pictures of these white men should be taken out and burned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] reported that AVENT had been asked to appear at the University of North Carolina campus at Charlotte on Monday, March 3, 1969, in connection with a protest rally led by BEN CHAVIS. [REDACTED] to protest the ten demands being made against the university officials and to get recognition of a black student organization on the campus. The constitution and demands made on the university follow the ten point program for black student unions as set out in the Black Panther newspaper.

On [REDACTED] reported that at a meeting of the BPP at Greensboro, North Carolina, six individuals from Charlotte, including JEROME JOHNSON and BEN CHAVIS and four others, attended. (u)

The "Charlotte Observer", a daily Charlotte, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1969, contained an article which stated in part that about forty (40) Negroes had gathered around the flag pole at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, shouting "Power to the People" and replaced the United States and North Carolina flags with a black flag. The newspaper article identified the chief spokesman for the group as BEN CHAVIS. The article also states that at approximately 2:00 P. M., on March 3, 1969, the black students began taping posters on the Administration Building windows, some of which were denunciations of North Carolina Governor ROBERT SCOTT, such as "Scott is oinking (pig) in the eyes of the people."

During [REDACTED] reported that BEN CHAVIS, Minister of Information for the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, has been observed [REDACTED]

On March 18, 1969, CE T-6, who has frequent contact with the leadership of the BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California, advised that [REDACTED] contacted the national headquarters in order that he might purchase a quantity of posters and newspapers. According to CE T-6, [REDACTED] requested 200 copies of the "Black Panther" newspaper and 20 copies of two different posters be shipped to him at [REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina. CE T-6 stated that [REDACTED] also gave his telephone number as [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] who was accompanied by another Negro male named [redacted] advised that he did not care to discuss anything with law officers inasmuch as he considered himself to be a Black Panther. When questioned as to his actual membership in the Black Panther Party [redacted] stated that he did not have anything official to prove his membership but that he was in fact a member of the Black Panther Party in his heart. He said that he believed in certain things which he refused to enumerate, but he stated that he was willing to die for these beliefs.

When further questioned concerning background information, [redacted] stated that all background information concerning him could be obtained through contacting EDDIE DGE CLEAVER.

In an effort to establish rapport, [redacted] was offered a cigarette, at which time he refused, stating that he was in training. It was noted that at the time of the contact, [redacted] was wearing a black beret, Army fatigues pants, and black military type jump boots. His hair was worn in a full bush.

On [redacted] 1969, information was received from [redacted] that on May 3, 1969, a group of approximately ten Negro males and females gathered at the intersection of Oaklawn Avenue and Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte, North Carolina, for approximately one and one-half hours where they gave the Black Panther salute with their fists in the air and shouted abuse at the policemen patrolling the area, such as "pig" and "honky", and for the policemen to leave the area. A number of individuals had shoulder weapons, such as rifles and shotguns, and machetes.

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina, advised that on [redacted] the same group of individuals who staged a demonstration at Beatties Ford Road and Oaklawn Avenue, conducted firearms practice near the home of [redacted] Charlotte. This area [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

was located by a Special Agent of the FBI and numerous empty .22 caliber rifle casings and 12 gauge shotgun shell casings were present in the area. y

It is noted that on May 6, 1969, a Special Agent of the FBI observed BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., and JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON, along with a group of other persons, milling around the Administration Building at Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, North Carolina. / Ben

On [REDACTED], 1969, [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] had possibly purchased a number of firearms at local stores in Charlotte.

On [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that JEROME JOHNSON had not been successful in establishing an affiliation with the RPP of California. [REDACTED] reported that this delay in obtaining a charter was due to a purge being conducted within the national RPP to get rid of informants and undesirable characters. [REDACTED] stated that the only officers are JEROME JOHNSON, who holds the position of Area Captain, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., who has been designated as the Minister of Information. /

On May 13, 1969, [REDACTED] stated that there was no charter group of BPP in North Carolina as of that date, however, the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, expects to receive a charter in the near future. ✓

On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina, advised that the Afro-American Unity Organization under the leadership of JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON has planned a rally for Saturday afternoon, May 24, 1969, at the corner of Beatties Ford Road and Oaklawn Avenue in Charlotte. [REDACTED] stated that the reason for the rally was unknown but [REDACTED] advises that JOHNSON hopes for a police confrontation at the time of the rally. JOHNSON and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., another member of the organization, are scheduled to speak at the rally. /

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] advised that his information reflects that all members are requested to wear black berets, black shirts.

On May 24, 1969, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], advised that the parking lot of the Pork and Rib Restaurant, Beatties Ford Road and Oaklawn Avenue in Charlotte, had been cleared of vehicles by 11:45 A. M., May 24, 1969, however, the rally, allegedly to be held from 12:00 Noon to 4:00 P. M., did not occur even though several young Negro males dressed in black berets and about 50 other Negro individuals milled about the parking lot until about 4:30 P. M.

[REDACTED] advised that one of the reasons the rally apparently failed was the fact that JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON was not available to lend his leadership to the group.

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the Afro American Unity Organization, which is continuing to attempt to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, plans to hold a public rally in Freedom Park on June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. [REDACTED] stated the purpose of the rally will be to solicit funds from those in attendance to be used for attorney fees and defense of members of the organization who were recently arrested in connection with a raid on the group's headquarters in Charlotte. The source advised that BENJAMIN FAIRSTON, a member of the group, will be in charge of the program, will be assisted by SANDRA McGRUDER, who is believed to be affiliated with the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CONFIDENTIAL

On [REDACTED] advised that the rally was held at Freedom Park, Charlotte, North Carolina, on Sunday afternoon, June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. The rally started with 18 Negroes, four of them females, all dressed in Black Panther regalia and marching to the speaker's stand in column of twos. As these Negroes marched to the speaker's stand they counted cadence, shouted "Power to the People", periodically giving the Black Power salute.

[REDACTED] stated that BENJAMIN CHAVIS acted as MC during the rally and introduced the speakers. One speaker was VERONICA HAGANS, a member of the Afro American Unity Organization, who spoke for approximately four minutes on the theme of police brutality. JAMES COVINGTON was then introduced as an individual who had recently been released from Federal custody and could speak with authority on police brutality. Thereafter, JOHN LUNSFORD was introduced as representative of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and he also spoke concerning police brutality, and the support of the SDS for the Negro and any other minority race which was being victimized by the police and the capitalistic society in which the people in the United States are presently living.

Following JOHN LUNSFORD's speech GAIL LUNSFORD was introduced as a representative of the SDS and she spoke concerning women's liberation. WORTH KITSON was introduced as a member of the SDS and gave a speech demanding immediate withdrawal of all United States troops in Vietnam, abolishment of the Selective Service System, and support of the Black Brothers in Furtherance of the Workers Revolution.

It is noted that on June 6, 1969, in United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina at Charlotte, North Carolina, Civil Action Number 2490 was filed by GEORGE S. DALY, JR., attorney for the plaintiffs, which is a complaint and motion for temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction. Plaintiffs were listed as BEN CHAVIS and wife JACQUELINE CHAVIS, JAMES COVINGTON, JR., THOMAS COLEMAN, VERONICA HAGANS, Mrs. MENTZIE JOHNSON, CORDELL KENNEDY, MARY SMITH, ART LYNCH, JR., CORNELIUS WATSON and U.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

HUGH G. CASEY, JR., next friend of TONY ALFRED, ANGELA COLEMAN, JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, G. BENJAMIN HAIRSTON, MICHAEL LANEY, RUDOLPH NASH and ALVIN JOHNSON. Defendants were listed as J. C. GOODMAN, JR., Chief, Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, and other members of that department; L. A. KELLY, JR., Chief, and other members of the Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Police Department; an Agent for the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation; a Special Agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, United States Treasury Department; and an Agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The complaint sets forth that the plaintiffs, with the exception of Mrs. CHAVIS, Mr. COLEMAN, and Mrs. JOHNSON, frequent the "Peoples House" at 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. "A Voluntary Congregation of Individuals Concerned with Improving the Lot of the Black Race, who are actively preparing themselves to apply for membership in the Black Panther Party. The rules, platform, and central committee of the Black Panther Party are set forth in the appendix as taken from 'The Black Panther', April 20, 1969, pages 21 and 22 (a publication of the Black Panther newspaper, 3106 Chabuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.)" The complaint alleges harassment by local, state and Federal law enforcement officials of the plaintiffs.

In [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] reported that BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., is continuing to act as head of the group in Charlotte, North Carolina, attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party in the absence of JIMMY JOHNSON.

[REDACTED]

The following is a list of persons reported as being members or potential members of the Afro American Unity Organization, Charlotte, North Carolina, which group is attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, Berkeley, California: IV

CONFIDENTIAL

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-54 enclosure page 9

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CONFIDENTIAL



On May 21, 1969, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of the following poster being passed out in Charlotte, North Carolina: (

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Rally!!

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: May 24, 1969

Time: 12-4

Place: Chicken and Ribs
corner of Beattiesford Rd. and
Oaklawn.

Sponsor: Citizens of the Black
Community who are interested in
organizing a Black Panther
Party.

"Power to the People"

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 2-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern Student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service system. Source two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Welch, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the mast-head described the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

**SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF);
"THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT" (SP)**

An article in the December, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" (SP) commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication with that issue recites the following:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was organized in 1938. SP, started in 1942 as the publication of SCHW, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), in the late 1940's when SCHW went out of existence. SCEF, originally the "educational wing" of SCHW, continued as an independent organization. For almost two decades, concern of SCHW and SCEF was with racial segregation and oppression of black people. In 1964, SCEF recognized that the legal back of segregation had been broken and economic and political gains were necessary if Southern life was to change. In the past few years, SCEF has also supported battles for academic freedom and the Southern movement for world peace.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

The September, 1967, issue of SP refers to SCEF as a "community of organizers and writers" stating its work is centered in organizing the poor in Appalachia for political and economic power, helping white people in the Deep South find a common cause with black people, helping local groups organize action for peace and working for abolition of the "House Un-American Activities Committee."

The Masthead of SP in its April, 1968, issue states "The Southern Conference is dedicated to ending racism, poverty, and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy."

Listed in the Masthead are SCEF officers consisting of eight executive committee members, four executive staff members

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

2

APPENDIX

headed by Carl and Anne Braden, five office staff members and fourteen field staff members and two "Eastern Representatives."

Mrs. Alberta Ahoarn, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court in a State sedition prosecution against Carl James Braden. She identified Carl James Braden and his wife, Anne McCarty Braden, as having been known to her as members of CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the CP in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the CP has some indirect influence in SCEF.

A second source, familiar with some phases of CP activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the CP were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization because it has gone along with the CP on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that George Meyers, a CP functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and SCEF, which they head. He said SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and they influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

The April, 1968, issue of SP states that the editorial and business offices of SCIF, publishers of SP, are at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky; office of publication, 150 Tenth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee; Eastern office, Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York, New York.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

1

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SNCC**

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum dated and captioned as above at Charlotte, North Carolina.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

**A. Organizational Activities and Connections with
Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, Berkeley,
California**

On January 13, 1969, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and furnished the following
information:

HAROLD AVANT, also known as Reddick, has appeared on
A & T State University Campus with ERIC PATRICK BROWN. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] said AVANT is supposed to be a member of the Black
Panther Party and had come from New York or New Jersey with ERIC
BROWN upon BROWN's return to A & T State University after the
Christmas vacation.

[REDACTED] had furnished [REDACTED] with a
copy of a poster which had appeared on A & T State University
bulletin boards urging support of ERIC BROWN in his opposition
to having been suspended from A & T State University.

[REDACTED] stated that he had been with BROWN and his
disruptive conduct and disorderly activity on the campus shortly
before the Christmas holiday. BROWN had led a group of eight
or ten other Negro students, and they had done considerable
damage in the two dining halls at the school. They had broken
up dishes, turned over tables, etc., and for this disorderly
conduct, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] by the suspension.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

19

105-16106-8-54

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Upon his return to A & T State University after the Christmas holidays, BROWN had brought along HAROLD AVANT, and these posters had appeared on the bulletin boards.

BROWN was on the poster and then an appeal to the students to come to BROWN's aid in his fight against suspension.

[REDACTED] that a hearing had been held, and BROWN has been re-instated at A & T State University. BROWN had also asked for use of the auditorium in the Student Union Building for AVANT to speak to the student body.

[REDACTED] said, however, that he understood AVANT had gone into one of the dormitories and talked with the students.

[REDACTED] further had been advised by [REDACTED] a Negro active in anti-poverty work in Greensboro, North Carolina, that AVANT is a member of the Black Panthers, and that [REDACTED] had seen AVANT hanging around the Carolina Peacekeeper office, at 914 1/2 Gerrell Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. [REDACTED] had told [REDACTED] that he was quite concerned about AVANT and his activities in the vicinity of A & T State University.

On January 15, 1969, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised ERIC BROWN and AVANT have been seen by him wearing Black Panther buttons on their lapels and also he has seen two or three other students at A & T State University and a couple of girls from Bennett College who are wearing such buttons. [REDACTED] said AVANT is not living on campus but apparently is staying somewhere nearby and has been observed a number of occasions on the campus. He described AVANT as a Negro male, about 6 feet 1 inch tall, weighing 230 pounds, an estimated age of 26 to 27, with a large head and his head is completely covered by a big full Afro-bush type haircut and beard. He said AVANT's complexion is medium dark, and he understood that AVANT was either from New Jersey or New York; and the impression that [REDACTED] had was that perhaps he was some sort of organizer for the Black Panthers who would go into an area and stay for a short time and then move on. He said he did not know where AVANT was staying in Greensboro, but he claimed that ERIC BROWN has Room 1045 in Scott Hall at A & T State University.

On January 23, 1969, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were arrested by Special Agents of the FBI at John F. Kennedy Airport, New York.

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

CONFIDENTIAL

City, New York, for violation of Title 49, United States Code, Section 1472, Crime Aboard Aircraft - Carrying Concealed Weapons.

At the time of their arrest, [REDACTED] had in his possession an attache case which contained numerous notes and other materials. Also contained in a separate section of the attache case appeared a list of documents with a handwritten "Project #3" printed at the top of each document. Included, among other documents, was a "Fact Sheet on the Case of Bro. Eric Brown", which is set forth hereafter:

"This statement is being issued to give the students the fact involved in the case of Bro. Eric B. Brown.

"On Monday night December 2, 1968, following the speech of Bro. Calvin C. Matthews, President of S. G. A., announced that as of 7:00 A.M. Wednesday, December 11, 1968, a boycott of all classes would go into effect. The boycott was called to give students ample time to draw up a list of demands that would be given to the administration on Friday, December 13, 1968.

"On Thursday, December 12, 1968, between 4:00 P.M. and 4:30 P.M. a spontaneous disturbance erupted in Murphy Hall. During the disturbance trays of food were thrown on the floor and tables and chairs were over turned. After devastating Murphy Hall, the frustrated students then proceeded to Brown Hall around 4:45 P.M., whereupon they commenced to turn over trays tables and chairs there too.

"At the time of the first incident, it must be made quite clear, that Bro. Eric P. Brown was in a conference with Bro. Willie Drake, Vice President of S. G. A. The conference lasted from around 3:50 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. Upon leaving Bro. Drake, Bro Brown heard the news of the disruptive actions taken by students in Murphy Hall. He immediately proceeded to Murphy Hall to witness the incidents. With things having subsided at Murphy Hall, Bro. Brown headed for Brown Hall to eat dinner.

"While standing in line at Brown Hall, the emotional charged students from Murphy Hall came into Brown Hall and began to disrupt the eating facilities there.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

"At that point, Bro. Calvin C. Matthews entered Brown Hall and proceeded across the room and singled out one brother who had thrown his tray on the floor. He then threw a series of blows to the brother (unknown). Bro. Brown along with some other students immediately sought to restrain Bro. Matthews. Bro. Matthews was finally removed from the dining hall.

"That night about 7:00 P.M., a meeting was called to give a progress report on the boycott.

"Prior to the progress report, Bro. Brown, along with some other brothers, tried to talk to Brother Matthews to warn him that such incidents would cause student divisions. Unfortunately, Brother Matthews was emotionally upset at that time. The brothers could not come to an agreement.

"When Matthews addressed the student rally that evening, citing the cafeteria incident, he asked for all radicals to stand. After no one stood Brother Brown attempted to get the floor. He was pointed out as a 'radical' at that time.

"On Friday, Dec. 13th Bro. Brown received the following letter:

"Dear Mr. Brown

"You have been charged with a very serious infraction of regulations and standards of the University. Specifically, you are charged with defacing property of the University and disorderly conduct. Especially is your case a very serious one because of a deliberateness taken on your part to insist others to follow your actions. You have been summoned to this office for a hearing to face these charges and to receive judgment as the facts in the case dictate.

"Very Sincerely yours

J. E. Marshall
Dean of Student Affairs

"On the following Tuesday a so-called hearing took place. Although Bro. Brown had 155 witnesses to

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

22

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

"prove his innocence, two hand-picked students and kangaroo procedures found him guilty."

"THESE FACTS SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES!!!!!!!!!!"

On [redacted] advised that on [redacted] 1969, a meeting of the BPP was held [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina. The meeting was attended by [redacted] persons and the instructor was HAROLD AVANT, who identified himself as a Section Chief and teacher of the BPP. This was one of a group of weekly training sessions to be presented for new BPP members. ERIC BROWN was identified as the Captain for the Greensboro, North Carolina, area and ROBERT [redacted] was designated as First Lieutenant. (u)

According to [redacted] the regular weekly meetings of the BPP in Greensboro continued with about the same number of persons present during [redacted] 1969. (u)

On April 21, 1969, CE T-6 reported that an individual identifying himself as [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina, contacted the BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California, and was advised by persons at the national headquarters that he has no authority at this time to organize a BPP chapter. [redacted] indicated that he and another BPP brother whom he did not name, had traveled to North Carolina from New York, specifically to organize the North Carolina chapter of the BPP. As of May 21, 1969, [redacted] were not aware of any charter being issued to the BPP in North Carolina.

On [redacted] advised [redacted] ERIC BROWN, who calls himself the Area Captain for the BPP, in North Carolina, he has determined that BROWN considers approximately 35 people in Greensboro to be members of the BPP.

B. Publications

[redacted] furnished a copy of the following leaflet which was handed out by HAROLD AVANT at a BPP meeting in Greensboro, North Carolina, on [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEVER, NEVER SURRENDER BROTHERS
POWER TO YOU

All Panthers in training (P.I.T.) are required to learn all Panther policy and program in a six week period, before moving on to the next stage. You must discipline yourselves to concentrate because revolution is not a party or a joke. There will be no revolution without a revolutionary party. The Black Panther Party is truly a revolutionary party. We must work very hard. Please feel free to ask about anything you don't understand and don't be afraid to challenge your instructor on any point.

You must memorize and understand the TEH POINT PROGRAM.
You must memorize and understand the POLITICAL DEFINITIONS.
You must memorize and understand the 3 RULES OF DISCIPLINE & 8 POINTS OF ATTENTION.
You must obtain or liberate a copy of CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG QUOTATION (REDBOOK).
You must obtain or liberate a PERET.

During the six week training period you will be put through test and given special assignments to test your fiber. You will be expected to do some community work and help get together a community organizational chart. We must always have the respect of the community. A Panther must always carry him self like a gentleman. We are the peoples heroes and the peoples liberation force. The first army that black people have ever had.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE. POWER TO THE VANGUARD MOVEMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

24

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

CONFIDENTIAL

On April 12, 1969, CE T-9 advised that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. has opened a shop on East Market Street, Greensboro, where BPP members hang out. At this shop, BRYANT sells all sorts of literature, including the BPP newspaper and various publications and material of black culture.

On April 30, 1969, CE T-11 advised that the house of WESUI UNOJA, 1621 East Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina, is a market place for black cultural items.

On April 21, 1969, CE T-6 reported that an individual known only as Brother [REDACTED] believed to be operating a bookstore in Greensboro, North Carolina, had inquired of the national headquarters of BPP about shipments of the Black Panther newspaper.

C. Finances *H.T.*

[REDACTED]

On May 6, 1969, CE T-13 reported that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. calls his bookstore "WESUI UNOJA". This means "Black Power" in Swahili.

During [REDACTED] reported, concerning finances of the BPP at Greensboro, that the only fund-raising activity known at Greensboro was that of raising bond money for ERIC PATRICK DROW, the Area Captain who was [REDACTED]

On May 13, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that on May 8, 1969, a meeting was held at A and T State University campus, Greensboro, North Carolina, where the statement was made that the BPP in North Carolina has enough money for their charter, amount not given, but they needed more money for traveling expenses.

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

CONFIDENTIAL

D. Acquisition of Weapons and Other Paraphernalia

[REDACTED] a BPP meeting was held on [REDACTED] and HAROLD AVANT said that on January 31, 1969, a training session on guerilla tactics was held on the campus of A and T State University. AVANT also stated that their goal in Greensboro was to get all white merchants off East Market Street, starting with boycotts and if that does not force them to move, the BPP would do the "next best thing", which obviously meant tearing the place up or burning it down. (u)

On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] advised that on [REDACTED] a BPP meeting was held [REDACTED] GREENSBORO. HAROLD AVANT discussed the recent takeover at Duke University by black students and said the problem could have been eliminated a lot quicker if the black brothers and sisters had had ammunition to fight off the police officers. AVANT stated that the black man should have machine guns or any other guns to overcome the "pigs". AVANT said that he wanted to get his hands on some sort of sub-machine gun, at least .45 caliber. (u)

69
✓
✓
✓
On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] advised that ERIC BROWN and ROBERT EVANS, both BPP members, went to Felt's Department Store in Greensboro and wanted the manager to furnish donations of clothing from Felt's for the BPP members. Later the same day, four Negro males, two of whom were BROWN and EVANS, again approached the manager of Felt's and were refused. (u)

6-7
CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

After being refused, the four Negro males then asked the manager if he knew what had happened to Sid's Curb Market and were told that the manager did know about the fact that the curb market had been ransacked by a bunch of Negro males but he was not going to give them anything, even after being threatened. (v)

[redacted] noted that the owner of Sid's Curb Market had identified ERIC BROWN as one of the militants who had come into his store on March 13, 1969, and ransacked it. BROWN was the individual who took some \$400 from the cash register during this incident and has subsequently been convicted of common-law robbery; however, he has appealed the conviction.

On [redacted] advised that [redacted] has a .357 caliber Magnum Revolver which he carries on some occasions. (u)

[redacted]

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] 1969, [redacted] indicated he had been out shooting with a shotgun but did not say where he had gotten the shotgun or ammunition.

[redacted]

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that ERIC BROWN had indicated a desire in obtaining some [redacted] (u)

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that [redacted] has said that he is anxious to get hold of some guns but has not indicated whether he has been successful in doing so. (u)

[redacted] (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

E. Activities

On February 6, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that during a sit-in conducted at A & T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 5, 1969, an individual claiming to be a BPP member upset the students involved in the sit-in and they ceased their activities a short time later. (4)

On February 6, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the BPP speaker who addressed the A & T State students on February 5, 1969, during the sit-in was HAROLD AVANT, also known as Nanding. (4)

On February 16, 1969, [REDACTED] Durham, North Carolina, reported that three Negro males were observed getting out of a Volkswagen and going to the edge of a building on the Duke campus where it appeared they were piling leaves against the side of the building. On investigation, one of the Negroes ran but the other two were identified as [REDACTED] Greensboro, North Carolina, and the other as [REDACTED] born [REDACTED] of Greensboro. Both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] refused to identify the third individual who had fled and since no violation could be proven, they were released. (4)

In connection with [REDACTED] he voluntarily appeared at the Greensboro, North Carolina, Resident Agency of the FBI on April 18, 1969, and stated that he understood the FBI had been conducting an investigation concerning him. [REDACTED] was very indignant and expressed anger because of the alleged investigation. [REDACTED] denied being a member of the BPP; however, he expressed the opinion that their organization is doing a good job in connection with the rights of the "black" people. (4)

[REDACTED] stated that the black people are in a war with the white race because of the injustices which white people

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

have perpetrated against the black people during the past several centuries. He stated that the Constitution of the United States is a "lie" because it does not provide for freedom of all people and that the Marxist-Lenin philosophy has, as expressed by the Chinese, the proper form of government.

[REDACTED] stated that he is from Procklyn, New York, and that his home address is [REDACTED]. He refused to furnish any additional background information.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that approximately [REDACTED] individuals attended the Black Panther Party meeting at [REDACTED] Greensboro, North Carolina. He said a number of other individuals came and went during the evening but about [REDACTED] were present when HAROLD AVANT conducted the training program. [REDACTED] also identified [REDACTED] as being in attendance and stated three individuals from Charlotte, North Carolina, had come up to the meeting. He identified one of these individuals as [REDACTED] and said [REDACTED] was accompanied by a Negro male and a Negro female, whose identities he had not learned.

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[REDACTED]

On February 22, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that on February 21, 1969, memorial ceremonies for MALCOLM X. were held at the Windsor Community Center, Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by students of A & T State University, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and Bennett College, plus some high school students. CECIL ROUSON, a former body guard of MALCOLM X, gave a speech stating the reason MALCOLM X was assassinated was because he was making too much progress in getting the black men together. HAROLD AVANT also spoke and said that the police officers observing the ceremony were a bunch of pigs. AVANT urged all Negroes to get a "piece", meaning a gun, and to use it when necessary. [REDACTED] estimated there was 300 to 400 Negroes present, and BPP members included ERIC BROWN, HAROLD AVANT, ROBERT HEARNES, CECIL ROUSON, MICHAEL AITENS, and NELSON JOHNSON. (7)

On February 22, 1969, [REDACTED] furnished the same information as [REDACTED] however, advised that also present was BPP member WALTER BRANE. (7)

On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] reported that HAROLD AVANT had returned to New York and was to return to Greensboro at a later date. According to [REDACTED] AVANT did not return to Greensboro until [REDACTED], and during this period, no actual meetings were held. (7)

On [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] reported that WALTER BRANE had stated BPP members are to urge the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission to be present at a meeting at Hayes Taylor YMCA, Greensboro. (6)

On [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] reported that the meeting was held at Hayes Taylor YMCA sponsored by the members of the BPP, with WALTER BRANE and NELSON JOHNSON, who are leaders in the BPP, running the meeting. None of the white members of the Redevelopment Commission showed up and one Negro member was in attendance for a short time. According to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] is pushing for action concerning housing problems by the Redevelopment Commission to show that he is taking the activity of the part of the Negroes in Greensboro. (6)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

During March, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that in connection with a strike by dining hall employees at A & T State University which started March 12, 1969, racial violence erupted which included sniping at police officers. Included in this violence on March 13, 1969, was the looting of Sid's Curb Market, East Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. [REDACTED] stated that on March 25, 1969, [REDACTED] that date furnished him with the following leaflet showing the demands upon the administration of A & T State University: (4)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NORTH CAROLINA A&T STATE UNIVERSITY
Greensboro

On Thursday night, March 13, 1969, the Greensboro police, without regard to humane standards of safety, carelessly and recklessly fired upon students at this university, wounding by gunshot three students and a visitor to our campus from the Greensboro community. The Greensboro police purposely sought out and illegally arrested students at our university and members of the black community while, at the same time, all cars containing blacks were stopped, machine guns pointed at the passengers, and illegally searched as cars containing whites were, in the same setting, re-routed, not stopped, and not searched. The Greensboro police did flagrantly intrude upon our campus, firing at students, and endangering the safety of all students at this university.

It is, therefore, that we, the undersigned, as students at this university, do strongly denounce the actions of the Greensboro police on the night stated herein, and very strongly demand that the administration at this university release a PUBLIC STATEMENT denouncing the actions of the Greensboro police and explain:

- (a) the relationship which the administration has with the Greensboro police department;
- (b) why members of the Greensboro police department were on the campus proper Tuesday, March 12, through Friday, March 14, 1969;
- (c) whether or not the administration invited the Greensboro police upon our campus proper;
- (d) whether or not the administration sanctioned the presence of the Greensboro police upon our campus proper;
- (e) why the administration has thus far remained silent on the actions of the Greensboro police and the wounding of our fellow students and the brother from the Greensboro community by Greensboro police on the night stated herein.

THIS PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE ADMINISTRATION MUST BE RELEASED NO LATER THAN FORTY MARCH 24, 1969 by 4:00 P.M.

SIGNED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[REDACTED] said that it is not the intention of A & T State University to meet any of the demands made in the leaflet. He said that some 900 signatures had appeared on the original list of demands that was presented to the Administration.

According to [REDACTED] the only people ever reported injured during the shooting on March 13, 1969, were [REDACTED] a student at A & T State University and [REDACTED] a non-student. Neither of these individuals were seriously injured, [REDACTED] said. (C)

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] had advised him that although the deadline set for the Administration to make a public statement was March 24, 1969, by 4 P. M., that this had been extended until March 25, 1969, at 4 P. M., but the Administration still intends to make a public statement in connection with these demands. (C)

Or [REDACTED] reported that ERIC BROWN, BPP leader, and student at A & T State University, had stated that he, BROWN, was active in preparing the list of demands against the administration, urging them to condemn the police for having fired at A & T State University students. (C)

On [REDACTED] advised that the Black Panthers in Greensboro were upset over the fact that [REDACTED] and two others had been arrested on the night of March 13, 1969, during a shooting incident at A & T State University. (C)

[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] was arrested in an automobile along with two other individuals in possession of a pistol; however, the case was later dismissed due to an improperly drawn warrant. (C)

[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] had been arrested by the Greensboro Police Department on charges of robbery in connection with the break-in at Sid's Club Market. The BPP members are attempting to raise bond money for [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] advised that WALTER DRAKE made the statement he was glad [REDACTED] was in jail and indicated that he is making an effort to take over all the BPP leadership. (C)

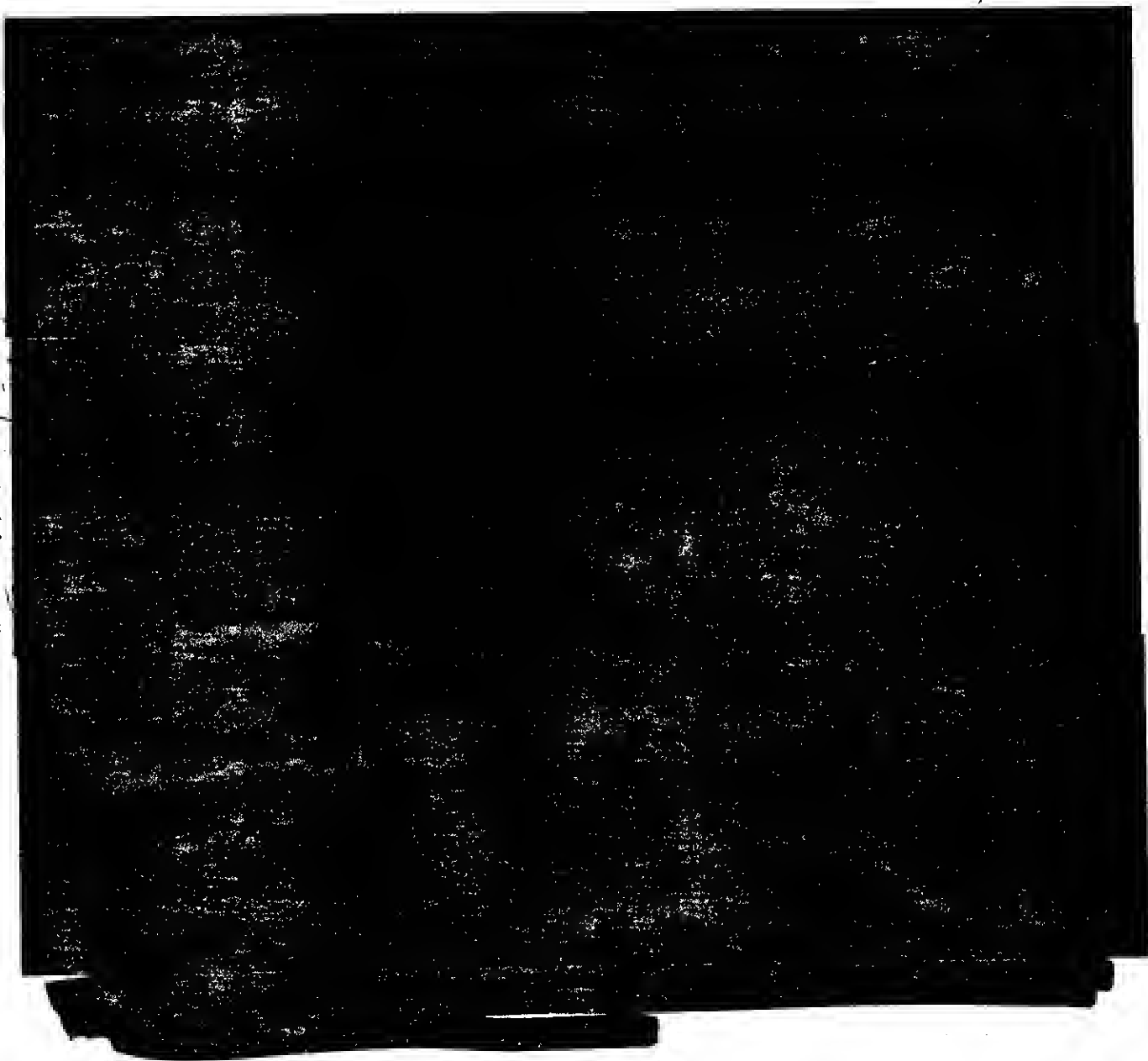
On [REDACTED] advised that on April 18, 1969, ERIC BROWN, also known as Brother WANDA, led a political education class at A & T State University, Greensboro, N.C. BROWN discussed the BPP program, the need for black education, and getting white stores out of black communities. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

On [redacted] advised that a representative from Oakland, California, was in Greensboro, North Carolina, trying to get the BPP organized. [redacted] stated that when they get the BPP together, and not in various small groups as it is now, he was going to make Greensboro pay for what it did to him when he was arrested in connection with the robbery at Sid's Curd Market. [redacted] admitted that he robbed the man but stated he was mad for having been put in jail under high bond.



34

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted], advised later that [redacted] was tried on charges of breaking and entering, and common-law robbery, both felonies in North Carolina. He was found guilty, however. filed Notice of Appeal and as of May 22, 1969, was still confined in the Guilford County Jail in lieu of bond. C

On [redacted] advised that a meeting of black militants was held in Greensboro, led by WALTER ROPER, a member of the BPP, urging everyone to support CLAYTON LADD, another member of the BPP, who was refused permission by school officials to run for student body office. (u)

~~COMMENTS:~~

35

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

On [REDACTED] ADVISED that at about 11:00 A. M., May 9, 1969, about 100 students at Dudley High School, all Negroes, walked out of the school. At about 12:30 P. M. on May 9, 1969, a minor accident between two automobiles occurred directly in front of Dudley High School. On the arrival of the first police car to investigate the accident, students poured from the high school and approximately 400 to 500 students surrounded the accident. [REDACTED] that it appeared that 75 to 100 people in the crowd were not students from the high school. Recognized in the crowd were NELSON MARSHALL JOHNSON and ROBERT EVANS, both BPP leaders. NELSON JOHNSON talked with the students in the school gymnasium and due to the situation, school was dismissed. (u)

According to [REDACTED] continued agitation has occurred at Dudley High School concerning the situation of CLAUDE BARNES, BPP member. On May 21, 1969, demonstration at the school resulted in rocks being thrown through the school windows and the use of tear gas by the police to disperse the crowds. Sniper fire started on the evening of May 21, 1969, and the National Guard has been mobilized. (u)

On May 28, 1969, [REDACTED] reported that on May 21, 1969, there were pickets on Lincoln Street in front of Dudley High School, Greensboro; and at the same time a group of some 5,000 students gathered in Mecho Park near Dudley High School. Recognized talking to the group were WALTER BRANKE, ROBERT EVANS, and HAROLD DAVIS of the BPP, Greensboro. After the group listened to the speeches, they started heading back to Dudley High School with violence erupting thereafter and students throwing rocks and bottles at police and breaking out windows in one of the buildings. (u)



RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] it was determined that [REDACTED] has been attending meetings of a legitimate group meeting in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BRAD (Last Name Unknown) has been determined to be BRAD, BILCHER. (u)

[REDACTED]


On [REDACTED] reported that there are two "Peoples Houses" in Greensboro, North Carolina. Peoples House Number 1 is 515 West Canal Street, the home of [REDACTED] JOHNSON. Peoples House Number 2 is the residence of [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

REPORTED at 105 Durham Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Peoples Place and at 317 Lenoir Street, the home of ERIC
BROWN. 1/

On [REDACTED] reported that two A & T
State University students were overheard talking at W. E. M.
JAYANT's store; however, their identities were not known.
They said that [REDACTED] was the man who directed the
operation of the shooting at police on the night of May 22,
1969, at Scott Hall on A & T State University. These students
claimed that [REDACTED] directed some of the students to
sneak out onto the campus causing the police to be drawn down
Luther Street to the dead end where the crossfire for the
campus was directed against the police and they were injured.
It is not known whether this is true but was the opinion expressed
by these two students. It was also said that most of the guns
were taken out of Scott Hall between 4:00 and 4:30 A. M. on
May 23, 1969, prior to the time the National Guard swept the
campus. 4



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

 1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

 105-165706-8-54 enclosure page 39

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[REDACTED]

(c)

[REDACTED]

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum are characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

CONFIDENTIAL

41

CONFIDENTIAL

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today, SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June, 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all-Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human Rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 18, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and hereafter the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 23, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

43²⁵⁰

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum dated July 24, 1969, at Charlotte, North Carolina, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 24, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

The following information concerning the
Black Panther Party has been furnished [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] advised that the
Afro American Unity Organization's finances are not known,
however, no efforts have been made to gather finances other
than the small amounts donated by the members. u

On [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] approximately [REDACTED] were held by
members of the Afro American Unity Organization at Charlotte.
[REDACTED] have been scheduled until such time as they
obtain their charter from the BPP, Oakland, California. u

On [REDACTED] reported that HAROLD
AVENT, reportedly a Field Marshal of the BPP from Greensboro,
North Carolina, spoke at a Malcolm X Day Commemoration service
at Johnson C. Smith University. During his speech, AVENT was
critical of the portraits of white persons hanging on the walls
of the auditorium. The people portrayed in these portraits
were the founders of the institution, a predominantly Negro
college, and AVENT stated the pictures of these white pigs
should be taken out and burned. u

On [REDACTED] reported that AVENT
had been asked to appear at the University of North Carolina
campus at Charlotte on Monday, March 3, 1969, in connection

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO
YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED
OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

45
GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

with a protest rally led by BEN CHAVIS. [REDACTED] to protest the ten demands being made against the university officials and to get recognition of a black student organization on the campus. The constitution and demands made on the university follow the ten-point program for black student unions as set out in the Black Panther newspaper.)

During [REDACTED] reported that BEN CHAVIS, Minister of Information for the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, has been observed [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that JEROME JOHNSON had not been successful in establishing an affiliation with the BPP of California. [REDACTED] reported that this delay in obtaining a charter was due to a purge being conducted within the national BPP to get rid of informants and undesirable characters. [REDACTED] stated that the only officers are JEROME JOHNSON, who holds the position of Area Captain, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., who has been designated as the Minister of Information.

[REDACTED] advised that the rally was held at Freedom Park, Charlotte, North Carolina, on Sunday afternoon, June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. The rally started with 18 Negroes, four of them females, all dressed in Black Panther regalia and marching to the speaker's stand in columns of twos. As these Negroes marched to the speaker's stand they counted cadence, shouted "Power to the People", periodically giving the Black Power salute.

[REDACTED] stated that BENJAMIN CHAVIS acted as MC during the rally and introduced the speakers. One speaker was VERONICA HAGANS, a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, who spoke for approximately four minutes on the theme of police brutality. JAMES COVINGTON was then introduced as an individual who had recently been released from Federal custody and could speak with authority on police brutality. Thereafter, JOHN LUNSFORD was introduced as a representative of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and he also spoke concerning police brutality, and the support of the SDS for the Negro and any other minority race which was being victimized by the police.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

and the capitalistic society in which the people in the United States are presently living.

Following JOHN LUNSFORD's speech, GAIL LUNSFORD was introduced as a representative of the SDS and she spoke concerning women's liberation. WORTH KITSON was introduced as a member of the SDS and gave a speech demanding immediate withdrawal of all United States Troops in Vietnam, abolishment of the Selective Service System, and support of the Black Brpthers in Furtherance of the Workers Revolution. 14

On [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the Afro American Unity Organization, which is continuing to attempt to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, plans to hold a public rally in Freedom Park on June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. [REDACTED] stated the purpose of the rally will be to solicit funds from those in attendance to be used for attorney fees and defense of members of the organization who were recently arrested in connection with a raid on the group's headquarters in Charlotte. The source advised that BENJAMIN HAIRSTON, a member of the group, will be in charge of the program, will be assisted by SANDRA McGRUDER, who is believed to be affiliated with the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). 4

On [REDACTED] 1969, [REDACTED] advised that BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., is continuing to act as head of the group in Charlotte, North Carolina, attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party in the absence of JEROME JOHNSON.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The "Charlotte Observer", a daily Charlotte, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1969, contained an article which stated in part that ab out forty (40) Negroes had gathered around the flag pole at the University of North

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Carolina at Charlotte, shouting "Power to the People" and replaced the United States and North Carolina flags with a black flag. The newspaper article identified the chief spokesman for the group as BEN CHAVIS. The article also states that at approximately 2:00 P. M., on March 3, 1969, the black students began taping posters on the Administration Building windows, some of which were denunciations of North Carolina Governor ROBERT SCOTT, such as "Scott is oinking (pig) in the eyes of the people." *U*

During [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] have reported that HAROLD AVANT, also known as Funding, and Nadine, acted as a Black Panther Party organizer at Greensboro, North Carolina, and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Attached are characterizations in the appendix to this memorandum of the Black Panther Party, Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc., Students for a Democratic Society, and Southern Student Organizing Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE PASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June, 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all-Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human Rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIXSOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF);
"THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT" (SP)

An article in the December, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" (SP) commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication with that issue recites the following:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was organized in 1938. SP, started in 1942 as the publication of SCHW, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), in the late 1940's when SCHW went out of existence. SCEF, originally the "educational wing" of SCHW, continued as an independent organization. For almost two decades, concern of SCHW and SCEF was with racial segregation and oppression of black people. In 1964, SCEF recognized that the legal back of segregation had been broken and economic and political gains were necessary if Southern life was to change. In the past few years, SCEF has also supported battles for academic freedom and the Southern movement for world peace.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

The September, 1967, issue of SP refers to SCEF as a "community of organizers and writers" stating its work is centered in organizing the poor in Appalachia for political and economic power, helping white people in the Deep South find a common cause with black people, helping local groups organize action for peace and working for abolition of the "House Un-American Activities Committee."

The Masthead of SP in its April, 1968, issue states "The Southern Conference is dedicated to ending racism, poverty, and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy."

Listed in the Masthead are SCEF officers consisting of eight executive committee members, four executive staff members

APPENDIXSOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern Student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source Two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Welch, executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P O Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the mast-head described the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

53

CONFIDENTIAL

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

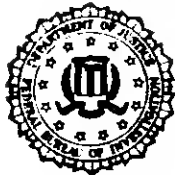
Today, SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

CONFIDENTIAL



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum dated July 24, 1969, at Charlotte, North Carolina, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]

On April 3, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the "Black Panther" newspaper was now being sold at the Varsity Grill, Statesville Avenue, Charlotte, North Carolina. (L)

The following information from other sources, although not specifically concerning sale of "Black Panther" newspaper at Varsity Grill, Charlotte, North Carolina, corroborates the information as furnished by [REDACTED].

On March 18, 1969, CE T-6 who has frequent contact with the leadership of the Black Panther Party national headquarters in Berkeley, California, advised that [REDACTED] contacted the national headquarters of the Black Panther Party in order that he might purchase a quantity of posters and newspapers. According to CE T-6, [REDACTED] requested 200 copies of the "Black Panther" newspaper and 20 copies of two different posters to be shipped to him at 2316 Tate Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. [REDACTED]

On April 23, 1969, JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON was observed by a Special Agent of the FBI selling copies of the April 20, 1969, issue of the "Black Panther" newspaper on East Trade Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. (L)

During March and April, 1969, [REDACTED] has reported that JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON is the self-described area captain and the head of the Afro-American Unity Organization, which organization desires to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, Berkeley, California. (L)

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

55A 100-16,706-X-54
ENCLOSURE

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

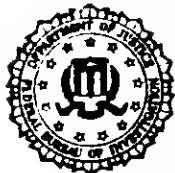
Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

56

2x



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-54 enclosure page 57

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On [REDACTED] advised that ERIC BROWN and HAROLD AVENT came by the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It was determined that AVENT has two or three people who came in with him from up North to organize, however, their identities were not known. ERIC BROWN claims to be the Captain in the BPP from the State of North Carolina, and the general conversation indicated that all white merchants on the east side of Greensboro "have got to go." It was determined that the BPP group meets at NELSON JOHNSON's apartment on Camel Street. //

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

stated that HOWARD FULLER from Durham, North Carolina, was assisting financially with the BPP activities in Greensboro. NUNDING and JOHNSON also remarked that they were not satisfied with the results of what had happened on the A&T State University campus when the students took over the Administration Building. //

On [REDACTED] advised that NUNDING has invited a group of BPP members from Charlotte to the meeting on [REDACTED] NUNDING has stated that they

BLACK PANTHER PARTY



On [REDACTED] reported that a meeting of the BPP was held on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Greensboro, N. C.

The instructor was HAROLD AVENT, also known as, NUNDING or NADINE. He identified himself as a Section Chief and Teacher of the BPP. This meeting was one of a group of weekly training sessions for new BPP members. There were [REDACTED] present at the meeting, and AVENT passed out the "Political Education Sheets" to each member, which they were told to learn and hold on to. AVENT also put other material on a blackboard and explained as he wrote it. The students were told to copy and save this information. AVENT made the statement that, once attending a meeting of the BPP, all were "brothers" or "sisters" from then on and there was no chance to get out. Those in attendance appeared to be young, either high school or college age and were dominated by AVENT. ✓

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ERIC BROWN was identified as Captain for the Greensboro, North Carolina, area, and ROBERT SPERO was designated as Field Lieutenant. The meeting lasted from 8:00 PM until 10:00 PM, and the other meetings are to be held each Monday night at the same place for several more training sessions. In addition, AVENT said that on January 31, 1969, they had a training session on guerrilla tactics on the campus at A&T State University. (U)

AVENT told the group that their goal in the spring was to get all white merchants off East Market Street. The first to go will be the Thrifty Curb Market and Sid's Curb Market. They will start with boycotts in the early spring; and if that does not force them to move out, the BPP would do the next best thing, which obviously meant tear the place up or burn it down. AVENT set up a diagram of court procedure for trying a BPP member for some infraction. The court will consist of the area captain as the judge assisted by the field lieutenant and the section lieutenant. (U)

[REDACTED] meeting of the BPP
[REDACTED] was held
[REDACTED] Greensboro.
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NUNDING insisted that NEWTON was unjustly shot and said that it was a typical example of justice that Negroes have put up with when they are dealing with white courts. NUNDING wanted those present to read the following books: (U)

"Killer of the Dream," written by L. SMITH

"Black Rage," written by WILLIAM GREER and PRICE COBB (U)

NUNDING also discussed the fact that Negroes are taken advantage of by white people when they get a decent job. NUNDING listed the executives of the BPP as follows: (U)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Minister of Defense
Minister of Information
Prime Minister
Chairman

HUEY P. NEWTON
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
BOBBY SEALE

NUNDING said that the main offices of the BPP were located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California, mailing address Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California. The meeting was adjourned in the usual procedure which is to stand and give the pledge to the Black Panther Flag, and then sing the Black Panther Song. There were two individuals from Charlotte, North Carolina, at this meeting identified as JEROME JOHNSON and BEN CHAVIS. These two actually arrived too late but were greeted as Black Panther Brothers by NUNDING and the others.

During the evening, [REDACTED], however, NELSON JOHNSON sat in the kitchen with them but would not bring them into the Panther meeting. (4)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] Most of the discussion at this meeting concerned the trip ERIC BROWN and NUNDING had taken to the Duke University campus during the period of racial violence. NUNDING said that the Negroes had made progress by the revolt against the administration and had photographs showing white policemen spraying tear gas on the Negro students.

On [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]. RITA BYRD was identified as the Secretary of the BPP group in Greensboro, and the meeting was more or less a rehash of what had been discussed before by NUNDING.

On [REDACTED] reported that a meeting was held at the Hayes Taylor YMCA sponsored by members of the BPP with WALTER BRAME and NELSON JOHNSON, leaders in the BPP, running the meeting. None of the white members of the Redevelopment Commission showed up, and one Negro member was in attendance for a short time. According to [REDACTED] BRAME is pushing for action concerning housing problems by the Redevelopment Commission to show that he is taking some activity on the part of Negroes in Greensboro.

On [REDACTED] advised that the meeting of Black Militants was held in Greensboro led by WALTER BRAME, a member of the BPP, urging everyone to support CLAUDE BARNES, another member of the BPP who was refused permission by school officials to run for student body office. (u)

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] a meeting was held at [REDACTED] Some of the Panthers recognized at the meeting were [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Nothing was accomplished at the (u)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

meeting because NELSON JOHNSON kept interrupting and injecting militant talk which kept the students agitated although there were a number of responsible Negro citizens at the meeting. (1)

[REDACTED] there were three new BPP organizers in Greensboro who have recently come to Greensboro from Connecticut. They are JOHN JOHNSON, also known as, KATARA, JOSE GONZALVEZ, and BRAD (Last Name Unknown). GONZALVEZ and BRAD are from Bridgeport, Connecticut. These three individuals are in Greensboro to try to reorganize the BPP and build it up to a really strong organization. They are extremely militant. (1)

On May 22, 1969, [REDACTED] reported that on May 21, 1969, violence erupted at Dudley High School, Greensboro, which included rock throwing, and the police drove the students away from the building. NELSON JOHNSON was one of the BPP members present during this demonstration. The meeting was held in Holland Bowl on the A&T campus with JOHNSON and CALVIN MATTHEWS, the President of the A&T student body, the principal speakers. JOHNSON gave a very fiery speech encouraging all the young people to stick together for police, whom he referred to as "Pigs," had taken over the society and were holding them in bondage like slavery. He said that the "Pigs" were taking over the complete control of the Negro community by killing Negro leaders who were trying to fight for their people. JOHNSON urged all the Negroes to fight for their rights even if it meant death because something had to be done. CALVIN MATTHEWS then spoke and asked all the students who were willing to die to come to Scott Hall that night, May 22, 1969, with the weapons of their choice, and for the ones who were not willing to stand up for their rights, to stay at home and go into hiding because the only way that the situation could be resolved was to fight back. MATTHEWS asked everyone to come to Scott Hall by 8:00 PM and said that the ones who were interested in being there should be there before 8:00 PM because the curfew was going into effect at that time. (1)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-54 enclosure page 64

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] BRAD (Last Name Unknown) has been determined to be BRADFORD BELCHER. JOHN JOHNSON, also known as, KATARA, from Connecticut, has gone back to New York. OSCAR WASHINGTON, who is originally from New York City and used the BPP name of RALLA, is now living on Dudley Street in Greensboro. He works at the College Drive-In for ROBERT HEARNES and also sells the Black Panther newspaper for W. E. M. BRYANT. WASHINGTON has been in Greensboro about six or seven weeks and came to Greensboro at the suggestion of ERIC BROWN.

[REDACTED]


On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] a meeting of the BPP was held at [REDACTED] Greensboro, North Carolina, [REDACTED] reported there were approximately [REDACTED] persons in the group led by an individual known as NADINE. [REDACTED] later reported this individual to be HAROLD AVENT, also known as NUNDING, and NADINE. (

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] meeting of the BPP was held at [REDACTED] [REDACTED] heard a part of the lecture being given by NUNDING, which was a repetition of facts of Chairman MAO TSE TUNG. There were about [REDACTED] persons present, a number of whom appeared to be high school children.

[REDACTED] wherein HAROLD AVENT discussed the recent takeover at Duke University by black students.

[REDACTED] concerning the meeting held at Hayes Taylor YMCA sponsored by members of the BPP with WALTER BRAME and NELSON JOHNSON running the meeting.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

 also reported that BRAD BELCHER was on the A&T campus on the night of May 22-23, 1969, wherein students were firing from the campus toward members of the Greensboro, North Carolina, Police Department, and the North Carolina National Guard.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968 contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11*

67



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, captioned and dated as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that on [REDACTED] HAROLD AVANT stated that he had been to Livingstone College at Salisbury, North Carolina, the previous weekend and during the week of February 15, 1969, he was going to Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina, to organize.

On [REDACTED] advised that on [REDACTED] a BPP meeting was held [REDACTED] Greensboro. HAROLD AVANT discussed the recent takeover at Duke University by black students and said the problem could have been eliminated a lot quicker if the black brothers and sisters had had ammunition to fight off the police officers. AVANT stated that the black man should have machine guns or any other guns to overcome the "pigs". AVANT said that he wanted to get his hands on some sort of sub-machine gun, at least .45 caliber.

[REDACTED]

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

68

100-161600-11

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On [REDACTED] advised that on February 21, 1969, memorial ceremonies for MALCOLM X were held at the Windsor Community Center, Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by students of A & T State University, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and Bennett College, plus some high school students. CECIL ROUSON, a former body guard of MALCOLM X, gave a speech stating the reason MALCOLM X was assassinated was because he was making too much progress in getting the black men together. HAROLD AVANT also spoke and said that the police officers observing the ceremony were a bunch of pigs. AVANT urged all Negroes to get a "piece", meaning a gun, and to use it when necessary. [REDACTED] estimated there were 300 to 400 Negroes present, and BPP members included ERIC BROWN, HAROLD AVANT, ROBERT HEARNES, CECIL ROUSON, MICHAEL AIKENS, and NELSON JOHNSON. (C)

[REDACTED] reported that HAROLD AVANT had returned to New York and was to return to Greensboro at a later date. According to [REDACTED] AVANT did not return to Greensboro [REDACTED] and during this period, no actual meetings were held.

According to [REDACTED] the regular weekly meetings of the BPP in Greensboro continued with about [REDACTED] persons present during [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] that HAROLD AVANT, also known as Nunding, visited New York during the week of February 24, 1969. NUNDING had been in Greensboro, North Carolina, and came back to New York to visit some of the Black Panther Party leaders there about the situation in Greensboro. (

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

69

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED]
has a .357 caliber Magnum revolver which he carries on some
occasions.

[REDACTED]

On April 12, 1969, CE T-9 advised that W. E. M.
BRYANT, JR. has opened a shop on East Market Street, Greensboro,
where BPP members hang out. At this shop, BRYANT sells all
sorts of literature, including the BPP newspaper and various
publications and materials of black culture. (U)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

During [REDACTED] reported, concerning finances of the BPP at Greensboro, that the only fund-raising activity known at Greensboro was that of raising bond money for [REDACTED] the Area Captain who was arrested for common-law robbery in connection with the looting of a grocery store on March 13, 1969. (U)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported that ERIC BROWN had indicated a desire in obtaining some [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] has said that he is anxious to get hold of some guns but has not indicated whether he has been successful in doing so. (U)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that a representative from Oakland, California, was in Greensboro, North Carolina, trying to get the BPP organized. [REDACTED] stated that when they get the BPP together, and not in various small groups as it is now, he was going to make Greensboro pay for what it did to him when he was arrested in connection with the robbery at Sid's Curb Market. [REDACTED] admitted that he robbed the man but stated he was mad for having been put in jail under high bond.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

North Carolina, on May 3-4, 1969, to give one of the brothers support in connection with a Negro running in a local city election. ()

[REDACTED] advised that the Black Panthers in Greensboro were upset over the fact that NELSON JOHNSON and two others had been arrested on the night of March 13, 1969, during a shooting incident at A & T State University. //

██████████ reported that ██████████ had been arrested by the Greensboro Police Department on charges of robbery in connection with the break-in at Sid's Curb Market. The BPP members are attempting to raise bond money for ██████████ ██████████ advised that WALTER BRAME made the statement he was glad ██████████ was in jail and indicated that he is making an effort to take over all the BPP leadership.

JOSE GONZALVEZ and BRAD (Last Name Unknown), described as two individuals recently having come to Greensboro, North Carolina from Connecticut and residing at [REDACTED] advised that on that date [REDACTED]

has been able to determine that two "big men" with the Black Panther Party from Oakland, California, and Connecticut were in town.

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

[REDACTED]
The reason for riding through the area had been because [REDACTED] had said some nice home needed to be firebombed to keep the situation stirred up in Greensboro. (U)

[REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] a showdown was obviously building up between W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. and JOSE GONZALVEZ as to who was to be the leader of the BPP in Greensboro. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. GONZALVEZ was told that he was no longer considered a member of the BPP and was expelled for 100 days. JOSE GONZALVEZ apparently accepted this as he has made no effort to continue in any position of leadership in the BPP in Greensboro. (U)

[REDACTED] reported that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. made the statement that CHIC NEBLETT, the BPP leader from the East Coast, was supposed to be in Greensboro during the week of June 6, 1969. (U)

[REDACTED]
Concerning the memorial services for Malcolm X on February 22, 1969, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of the Black Panther Party and Organization of Afro-American Unity, which characterization contains information concerning MALCOLM X LITTLE, also known as Malcolm X.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther" which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June, 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all-Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human Rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

75 -8*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum dated July 24, 1969, at Charlotte, North Carolina, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]

On April 24, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] a student at Winston-Salem State Teachers College, and [REDACTED] who worked with "Experiment in Self Reliance" Winston-Salem, North Carolina, have in the past been in contact with individuals from Greensboro, North Carolina, concerning BPP matters. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] however, has determined they made plans to affiliate Black Panthers at Greensboro with the militant individuals in Winston-Salem, so that they may more easily raise the \$300 for the charter from California. (u)

On April 28, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that a BPP sponsored party had recently been held at the Negro American Legion Post in Winston-Salem. THURMOND DUBOISE and FARRY TYSON gave the party and sold mixed drinks specifically to assist in raising the \$300 for the charter from California. (u)

On April 29, 1969, [REDACTED] reported there had been a meeting the previous evening at 7:30 P. M., at Winston-Salem [REDACTED] however, Black Panther members were involved (u)

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

100-16106-28-54

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On June 2, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of the last several weeks, two out-of-town Black Panthers known only as KENYATA (phonetic) and MATISE (phonetic) were in Winston-Salem selling the Black Panther newspaper. (U)

CE T-11 has reported that NATHANIEL SHELF, also known as NATE, is a member of the BPP group at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. (U)

On June 16, 1969, [REDACTED] reported that NATHANIEL SHELF, also known as NATE, had been observed selling the BPP newspaper in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] determined from SHELF that the papers were obtained at the "Cultural Exchange" on Northwest Boulevard, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and that when SHELF was through selling newspapers, he was to return the money to the man who ran the Cultural Exchange. [REDACTED] also reported that while at the Cultural Exchange, the person identified as CLARENCE WALKER was observed wearing a Black Panther type shirt and claimed to be a Black Panther. (U)

[REDACTED] reported that THURMOND DUBOISE was at the first organizational meeting of the BPP held at the House of Commons in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. (U)

On July 2, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that he was aware of approximately fifteen individuals who appear to be members of the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, one of which is an individual known as NATE. (U)

Attached as an appendix of this memorandum is a characterization of the BPP.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worthkeeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Memorandum at Charlotte,
North Carolina, dated and
captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS**

[REDACTED]

On February 6, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that on February 5, 1969, students of A and T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina, took over the Administration Building starting about 1:00 or 2:00 P.M. About 11:00 P.M., NUNDING, Black Panther leader in Greensboro, came over and started speaking to the students on the main floor. NUNDING wanted the group to stay on in the building and offered Black Panther help, but he did not seem to get too much response from the people. According to [REDACTED] NUNDING is also known as HAROLD AVENT. NUNDING made the statement that he was from New York and that he was a Black Panther Party man and that the Black Panthers could help the students. ERIC BROWN, Black Panther Party member, was seen in the Administration Building and had a transistor radio listening to news broadcasts. (U)

[REDACTED] advised that observation of 315 West Camel Street revealed that eight or ten cars seemed to come and go to that address, which is the residence of NELSON JOHNSON. None of the people could be recognized, however, by about 11:00 or 12 midnight, most of the crowd seemed to have dispersed. (U)

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] ROBERT HEARNES, who runs the College Drive-In, East Market Street, said that a number of the Black Panther Party members were hanging around his place. [REDACTED] HEARNES is definitely a member of the Black Panther Party. (U)

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification 105-1206-X-51

CONFIDENTIAL

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS**

It is noted that during the period [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has reported ROBERT LEE HEARNES, who operates
the College Drive-In on East Market Street, Greensboro, North
Carolina, as a member of the Black Panther Party. (U)

On February 6, 1969, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised that during the
sit-in conducted at A and T State University, Greensboro, North
Carolina, on February 5, 1969, an individual claiming to be a
Black Panther Party member addressed the students involved in
the sit-in urging them to continue. (U)

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is
attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

81
3x



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character

RACIAL MATTERS

Reference

Memorandum at Charlotte, North
Carolina, dated and captioned
as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a meeting was held [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] North Carolina. This was a BPP meeting [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and "NADINE" was telling the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] about what the white [REDACTED]
man has done and is doing to the black man. Persons
recognized as being present were [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WELSON JOHNSON made the statement that the Black Panthers had gotten organized in Dudley High School, A and T College, Page High School, and Smith High School, claiming the Panthers have two hundred sympathizers at Dudley High School who would be ready to move on signal from the Panther leaders. WALTER PRAME made the statement that he was a Panther and said, "After all his draft appeals are exhausted, he would tell the board simply that the Black Panther Constitution forbids him to fight any wars anywhere for anybody except which the Panthers sanction, goodnight." (4)

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER
RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

(471)

47

ENCLOSURE

105-165706-8-54

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NELSON JOHNSON made the statement that he was watching anyone who happens to drop by because, if anyone comes to him and tries to get him involved in any kind of plot with dynamite before the Panther Headquarters say the time is right, that he will tell them it is their thing and they should go ahead and do it because it could be a police trap. (U)

[redacted] reported that on [redacted] another meeting of the BPP was held at [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina. NADINE or NUNDING was the principal speaker and gave a lecture which was a repetition of facts from Chairman MAO TSE-TUNG with about [redacted] present. It appeared that at least five or six of those present were undoubtedly high school children. Also present were [redacted] (H)

On [redacted] advised that on February 18, 1969, a meeting sponsored by the BPP was held in Hodgin Hall on the A and T State University campus with about 35 or 40 Negro males and females in attendance. Those in attendance represented a number of schools and recognized were [redacted]

The discussion at this meeting concerned a memorial ceremony for MALCOLM X on February 22, 1969, where they wanted to remove the American flag at Windsor Community Center and replace it with a black flag with a red "X" on it. (U)

On [redacted] reported that on the afternoon of February 22, 1969, about 250 to 300 Negroes assembled at the Windsor Community Center where they held a memorial ceremony for MALCOLM X. WALTER BRANE introduced CECIL ROUSON, who gave a speech concerning MALCOLM X; and Panthers recognized at the ceremony were NELSON JOHNSON, WALTER BRANE, NUNDING, CECIL ROUSON, and ROBERT HEARNES. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

HEARNES made the statement that his drive-in restaurant on East Market Street was more or less Black Panther Party Headquarters and invited everyone to come and hang out there. NELSON JOHNSON was scared that he might do something that would get him kicked out of school, noting he attends A and T-State University, and prevailed upon the crowd present not to raise the black flag at the Windsor Community Center, which is Greensboro, North Carolina, city property. But instead the group walked to the Bennett College campus where they lowered the American flag and raised the black flag at the end of their MALCOLM X commemoration ceremony. (U)

[REDACTED] It was learned that another group of Black Panthers was also meeting at [REDACTED] North Carolina, and that NUNDING has not returned from his trip to New York. Without the leadership of NUNDING, there does not seem to be much organization as far as the Black Panthers are concerned. (U)

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is a new Black Panther Party member at Greensboro, North Carolina, who is supposedly from South Carolina. (U)

[REDACTED] It was determined NUNDING has discussed the fact that, after he left Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 26, 1969, and went to New York, he had been in New York, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, and also claimed he had been in Oregon and Oakland, California, and back to Connecticut before coming back to Greensboro. NUNDING claims that he has been offered a teaching job in Connecticut but stated that he would be in Greensboro at least three or four months. NUNDING recently made the statement that North Carolina and the South particularly are (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

effective areas for the BPP to organize and said that the area around Greensboro is going to be a "power base" since the Negroes there are really treated much better than they are in New York and the northern part of the country. (u)

[redacted] advised that there was [redacted] however, a group met [redacted] WALTER BRAME discussed a meeting to be held on March 25, 1969, at the Hayes Taylor YMCA where members of the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission had been urged to be present. BRAME said that they were going to take up some of the housing problems of the poor Negroes in Greensboro and desired BPP members present. BRAME was somewhat suspicious of NUNDING and claims he has found out that NUNDING is not really a member of the BPP from New York as he has claimed in the past. (u)

[redacted] reported that on March 25, 1969, a meeting was held at the Hayes Taylor YMCA, East Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by about 300 to 400 people which included at least 35 to 40 BPP members. Those in charge of the meeting were WALTER BRAME and NELSON JOHNSON, with only one member of the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission showing up. After the meeting was over, WALTER BRAME said that in a few more days there would be more Black Panther Party members coming to Greensboro. BRAME indicated that NUNDING and ERIC BROWN are the ones who are pushing the administration at A and T State University to come out with a public statement condemning the police department for firing at students at A and T State University on March 14, 1969. (u)

[redacted] reported that there is dissension between NUNDING and WALTER BRAME. BRAME claims that he is the official leader of the BPP in Greensboro, although NUNDING has claimed that he is the leader. Some (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

of the militants in Greensboro do not trust NUNDING since they believe that he is a phony. WALTER BRAME has said that he had made some checks in New York and that neither NUNDING or ERIC BROWN are as big members of the BPP in New York as they claim to be. (u)

On [redacted] reported that WALTER BRAME made a statement that he is glad that [redacted] is in jail since [redacted] was an informant for either the FBI or the local police. BRAME indicated that he is making an effort to take over all of the BPP leadership from NUNDING, whose true name has been determined to be HAROLD AVENT. (u)

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] a Black Panther political meeting was held [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina. [redacted]

At the meeting BRAME played some old recordings of speeches by MALCOLM X, and the group discussed them analyzing the political situation. It was determined that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR., has opened a Black-African store on the corner of Market and Benbow Road in Greensboro and calls his place the "House of Umvassimoja." This is supposed to be an African term; and BRYANT has artifacts, publications, books, and African regalia for sale. (u)

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] it was determined that HAROLD AVENT, also known as NUNDING, had left Greensboro; and [redacted] seems to think he will return. A group met [redacted] to discuss the future direction of the BPP activity at Greensboro. (u)

On [redacted] advised that WALTER BRAME has made the statement that he has written a letter to Cincinnati, Ohio, where PAUL GEZON, former head of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Greensboro, is moving. He said that he was writing to tell the Black Panthers in Cincinnati not to deal with GEZON as the Panthers in Greensboro did not like GEZON or his work. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] reported that on April 15, 1969, the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission was holding its meeting in the City Council Chamber in Greensboro. About 20 to 25 Panthers showed up at the meeting with WALTER BRAME ramrodding the [REDACTED]. [REDACTED]

(4)

[REDACTED]

48
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED]

According to [REDACTED], there was no indication that HOWARD LAMAR FULLER was a member of the BPP; however, he was sympathetic to the philosophy and comments of the BPP members who were present at the meeting. (u)

According to [REDACTED] CHICO NEBLETT said that NUNDING claimed that he had joined the BPP; but actually the BPP had closed its membership prior to the time that NUNDING had said that he had become a member. CHICO stated that he had been hearing about NUNDING in the South, and several weeks ago NUNDING had [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] because he wanted to get this matter straight about his so-called membership in the BPP. [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] W. E. B. DUBOIS indicated that [REDACTED] a high-ranking person in the BPP organization, had been in Greensboro on [REDACTED] in discussions with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had cleared with [REDACTED] concerning Black Panthers from Greensboro going to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on [REDACTED] to hold a rally. (u)

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] reported that on [redacted] made the statement that some two hundred people were coming to Greensboro over the weekend and these were militants from all over the country. [redacted] said that the group was going to be carrying weapons while in Greensboro so they could get accustomed to carrying guns and feel what it is like to have a rifle or shotgun in their hands. 4

On [redacted] reported that on May 8, 1969, a group of some 100 to 150 Negro males and females met at Hodgkin Hall, A and T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina. There were 14 individuals who were introduced to the crowd as having come from Cornell University. This was determined to be a meeting of the "Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU)." [redacted]

[redacted] and a few other individuals recognized as BPP members were present at this meeting. 4

On [redacted] reported that W. E. M. BRYANT's book store is now the center for black militant activity in Greensboro, North Carolina. BRYANT sells mainly paperback books and hardback books about MALCOLM X, the Muslims, and so forth. The only BPP publication he sells is the Black Panther Newspaper. 4

On [redacted] reported that the situation at Dudley High School is tense and that people are upset in view of the talk spread by the black militants as if the police are trying to harass the sympathizers of CLAUDE DARNES, a member of the BPP who was refused permission by school officials to run for a student body office. 4

On [redacted] reported that A. D. HOPKINS, a reporter for the Greensboro Record, a daily Greensboro, North Carolina, newspaper, contacted CECIL ROUSON and wanted to write up something about the BPP. ROUSON talked to a 4

64

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

number of the BPP members, and they said they were not going to even talk to any white man. W. E. M. BRYANT, JR., agreed to talk with HOPKINS. (u)

On [REDACTED] reported that on the evening of May 16, 1969, beginning at about 6:30 P. M., a mass meeting was held at the Shiloh Church on Asheboro Street, Greensboro, North Carolina, to discuss the Dudley High School situation. Recognized as present were BPP members [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] reported that on May 21, 1969, there were pickets on Lincoln Street in front of Dudley High School, Greensboro; and at the same time a group of some 5,100 students gathered in Nocho Park near Dudley High School. Recognized talking to the group were [REDACTED] of the BPP, Greensboro. After the group listened to the speeches, they started heading back to Dudley High School with violence erupting thereafter and students throwing rocks and bottles at police and breaking out windows in one of the buildings. (u)

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] it was determined that [REDACTED] has been attending
meetings of a legitimate group meeting in the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BRAD (LAST NAME UNKNOWN)
has been determined to be BRAD BELCHER. (u)

[REDACTED]


On [REDACTED] reported that there are three
"Peoples Houses" in Greensboro, North Carolina. Peoples
House Number 1 is 315 West Camel Street, the home of NELSON
JOHNSON. Peoples House Number 2 is the residence of TRACY
LIGHTOWER at 108 Durham Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Peoples House Number 3 is 317 Beech Street, the home of ERIC
BROWN. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On [REDACTED] reported that two A and T State University students were overheard talking at W. E. M. BRYANT's store; however, their identities were not known. They said that [REDACTED] was the man who directed the operation of the shooting at police on the night of May 22, 1969, at Scott Hall on A and T State University. These students claimed that [REDACTED] directed some of the students to sneak out onto the campus causing the police to be drawn down Luther Street to the dead end where the crossfire for the campus was directed against the police and they were injured. It is not known whether this is true but was the opinion expressed by these two students. It was also said that most of the guns were taken out of Scott Hall between 4:00 and 4:30 A. M. on May 23, 1969, prior to the time the National Guard swept the campus. (u)



[REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] meeting of the BPP [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was held [REDACTED]

NUNDING insisted that NEWTON was unjustly shot and said that it was a typical example of the injustice that Negroes have to put up with when they are dealing with white cohorts. During the meeting, NUNDING listed the executives of the BPP as Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Information ELDORIDGE CLEAVER, Prime Minister STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman BOBBY SEALS. He gave main offices of the BPP as 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California, with mailing address of Post Office Box 8641, Emoryville Branch, Oakland, California. (U)

[REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED] there was a regularly scheduled meeting of the BPP [REDACTED] (U)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
On [REDACTED] advised that on February 21, 1969, memorial ceremonies for MALCOLM X were held at the Windsor Community Center, Greensboro, North Carolina. One of the speakers was CECIL ROUSON, a former bodyguard of MALCOLM X. HAROLD AVENT also spoke and said that police officers observing the ceremony were a bunch of pigs, urging all Negroes to get a "piece," meaning a gun, and use it when necessary. (U)

43
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[REDACTED] reported that HAROLD AVENT had returned to New York and was to return to Greensboro, North Carolina, at a later date. According to [REDACTED] AVENT did not return to Greensboro [REDACTED] 1969; and during this period, no actual meetings were held. (U)

[REDACTED] advised that a representative from Oakland, California, was in Greensboro, North Carolina, trying to get the BPP organized. [REDACTED] stated that, when they get the BPP together and not in various small groups as it is now, he was going to make Greensboro pay for what it did to him when he was arrested in connection with the robbery of Sid's Curb Market. [REDACTED] admitted that he robbed the man and stated he was mad for having been put in jail under high bond. (U)

[REDACTED]
On May 12, 1969, [REDACTED] Main Street, Durham, North Carolina, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that HOWARD L. FULLER, who acts as director of training in community organization for the Foundation for Community Development, had made arrangements and brought CHICO NEBLETT to teach and speak for one day at the MALCOLM X Liberation University during April, 1969. However, he, [REDACTED] did not hear NEBLETT speak. [REDACTED] advised that he was not aware of the existence of any BPP in Durham, North Carolina; although, according to his information, CHICO NEBLETT is associated with the BPP. (U)

CARVER GENE NEBLETT, also known as CHICO NEBLETT, has been publicly identified as the East Coast Field Marshal for the BPP. (U)

ay
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum are characterizations of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Also attached is a characterization of the Organization of Afro-American Unity which contains background information regarding MALCOLM X LITTLE, also known as MALCOLM X. (U)

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SNCC

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June, 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all-Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human Rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

54

17 *

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Memorandum dated July 24, 1969,
 at Charlotte, North Carolina,
 captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 24, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] reported that there were apparent attempts by the Black Panther Party (BPP) members at Greensboro, North Carolina, to contact students at Winston-Salem State Teachers College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [redacted] reported that HARRY K. TISON, a *Harry Tyson* Negro male [redacted] Pennsylvania, was the apparent leader of the students interested in becoming members of the BPP. (C)

[redacted] reported that on [redacted] ERIC PATRICK BROWN, [redacted] to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, [redacted] a group of individuals at a place known as The House of Commons, which appears to be a neighborhood community center. [redacted] were in attendance and BROWN indicated that all activity in the name of the BPP at Winston-Salem, with the exception of political education classes, is to cease due to the fact no charter has been obtained from the BPP Headquarters. A portion of the meeting was taken up with ERIC BROWN having [redacted]

On [redacted] advised that [redacted] a student at Winston-Salem State Teachers College, and [redacted] who worked with "Experiment and Self Reliance", Winston-Salem, North Carolina, have in the

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF
THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS
CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR
AGENCY.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

105-165706-8-54

45 99

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

past been in contact with individuals from Greensboro, North Carolina, concerning BPP matters. [redacted] advised [redacted] however, has determined they made plans to affiliate Black Panthers at Greensboro with the militant individuals in Winston-Salem, so that they may more easily raise the \$300 for the charter from California. (u)

On [redacted] advised that members of the BPP at Greensboro traveled to Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The purpose was to collect money for bond and defense of [redacted] who is in jail in Greensboro, North Carolina. (u)

On [redacted] advised that a BPP sponsored party had recently been held at the Negro American Legion Post in Winston-Salem. THURMOND DUBOISE and HARRY TYSON gave the party and sold mixed drinks specifically to assist in raising the \$300 for the charter from California. (u)

On [redacted] reported there had been a meeting the previous evening at 7:30 p.m., at Winston-Salem, [redacted] however, Black Panther members were involved. (u)

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted], ERIC BROWN had indicated that three or four members of the BPP at Greensboro were going to Winston-Salem that date to hold a rally. Information was later received from [redacted] that ERIC BROWN and three others did go to Winston-Salem, where a rally was held by the BPP. W. E. M. BRYANT, JR., stated that CHICO NEBLETT, the BPP leader for the East Coast, had been in Greensboro on Tuesday, April 22, 1969, and had given ERIC BROWN permission to have the rally at Winston-Salem. (u)

On June 2, 1969, [redacted] advised that on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of the last several weeks, two out-of-town Black Panthers known only as KENYATA (phonetic) and MATISE (phonetic) were in Winston-Salem selling the Black Panther newspaper. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

pd
46

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

On [REDACTED] reported that ROBERT GREER was apparently the head of the Black Panther group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and WILLIAM RICE and JULIUS CORNELL are also members. [REDACTED] advised that THURMOND DUBOISE was at the first organization of the BPP held at the House of Commons, however, has had no contact with DUBOISE in view of the fact that GREER thinks the House of Commons is bugged and he and several others have been meeting at GREER's residence. (u)

[REDACTED] approximately 15 individuals who appear to be members of the BPP. [REDACTED] advised one of these individuals was known as NATE. (u)

[REDACTED]

On June 16, 1969, [REDACTED] reported that NATHANIEL SHELF, also known as NATE had been observed selling the BPP newspaper in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] determined from SHELF that the papers were obtained at the "Cultural Exchange" on Northwest Boulevard, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and that when SHELF was through selling newspapers, he was to return the money to the man who ran the Cultural Exchange. T-11 also reported that while at the Cultural Exchange, the person identified as CLARENCE WALKER was observed wearing a Black Panther type shirt and claimed to be a Black Panther. (u)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that on the Saturday before [REDACTED] the Black Panther unit in Winston-Salem had had physical training at Paisley High School and the Wednesday before that at Kennedy Junior High School. [REDACTED] stated there were approximately 20 members present, one of whom was identified as JESSIE STITT. [REDACTED] said that the Secretary-Treasurer of the Winston-Salem group was NELSON MALLOY. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

On [REDACTED] reported that there are approximately 20 members of the Black Panther group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which group is not chartered or recognized by the National BPP organization. [REDACTED]

The individuals previously mentioned in this memorandum are the known membership at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. (c)

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY**CONFIDENTIAL**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

CONFIDENTIAL

103
49 54



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

July 24, 1969

Title **BLACK PANTHER PARTY
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA**

Character **RACIAL MATTERS**

Reference **Memorandum at Charlotte,
North Carolina, dated and
captioned as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

All sources except CE T-17 with whom insufficient contact has been had from which to judge his reliability.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] reported that the Afro-American Student Organization at Fayetteville State College, Fayetteville, North Carolina, was sponsoring a "Black Political Education Program" during the week of April 21-25, 1969. Listed as speakers for the program are CHICO NEBLETT, East Coast Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party (BPP), and KOKO HUGHES, Central Coordinator of the Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] advised other scheduled speakers during the week would be Q. T. JACKSON, Vice President of the Student Government of Howard University, Washington, District of Columbia, and J. T. MC QUEEN, President of the Black Student Union, George Washington University, Washington, District of Columbia. (u)

[REDACTED] advised that JAMES GARRETT, Head of the Black Studies Department, Federal City College, Washington, District of Columbia, and PAUL MONROE, Acting Chairman of the Black Student Union Alliance, Washington, District of Columbia, DON L. LEE, Cornell University, and CLEVELAND SELLERS, Instructor in Black Ideology at Cornell University, are scheduled to appear as speakers during the program and workshops. (u)

[REDACTED] advised the purpose of the program is to emphasize the need for political education in the black community and the implementation of "total liberation of the black people." (u)

On [REDACTED] advised the Black Political Education Program opened at 6:30 P.M. on April 21, 1969, with a (u)

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

104
105 - ENCLOSURE
105-165706-8-54

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

meeting in the quadrangle of the dining hall on campus. The first speaker was CHICO NEBLETT who outlined the policies of the Black Panther Party and made the following quotes: (U)

"We Black Panthers do not advocate war, we don't talk of hating honkies but of an undying love for ourselves and our people." (U)

"We black have been robbed by the white of our money, housing, food, culture and identity. We have been raped and robbed of our humanity so systematically that we don't even realize it." (U)

[REDACTED] advised after the opening speech by NEBLETT before approximately three hundred people, that a workshop was held, attended by about ninety persons, in which NEBLETT talked about the "white man has robbed the Indians, Negroes, Africans, and have created germicide, but yet the white call us blacks violent." NEBLETT again stated the Black Panthers do not advocate violence or war, and the only reason for carrying guns was to protect themselves from the impulsive "white fool." NEBLETT explained the Black Panther Party Ten Point Plan and said the greatest of the points was to "free all black prisoners," and for "black men to be exempt from the military service." [REDACTED] stated in essence NEBLETT was saying that the only way to deal with the white man was through violence because that is the only thing the white man understands. (U)

[REDACTED] stated NEBLETT was not too overly impressive in his talks but did speak with a very militant tone and stressed militancy throughout his talks. The students did not appear too interested in the Black Panther Party, and no application or inference was made for the students to join the party. During the workshop, [REDACTED] stated the students continuously inquired of NEBLETT the reason for the Black Panther Party, their aims, purposes, and just how students would be helpful to the party. The Black Panther Party talks by NEBLETT did not appear to influence the students and there was very little support or encouragement for the party at the workshop. It was apparent that CHICO was not too enthused with the reception of the students. (U)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted] stated KOKO HUGHES talked a very short time with the women, stressing the importance of the black woman in the black community and in society today. She told the women that they should improve their image, change their hair style to Afro, wear the right type of clothing and to become African and believe in the Black awareness. (U)

[redacted] advised that KOKO HUGHES reportedly was leaving Fayetteville either the evening of April 21, 1969, or April 22, 1969. [redacted] observed CHICO driving a 1967-69 Corvette Stingray, dark beige in color, bearing New York license, number unknown. [redacted] did not know how long CHICO would remain on campus. (U)

On [redacted] advised that the scheduled speakers, G. T. JACKSON and J. T. MC QUEEN, both failed to appear at the college and did not speak, therefore, the programs for April 22, 1969, and April 23, 1969, were not conducted. [redacted] stated a play, "Halleluiah, Baby," was being presented on campus on Thursday and Friday, April 24 and 25, 1969, as part of the program. (U)

On [redacted] advised no other workshops in connection with the Black Political Education Program were held inasmuch as the scheduled speakers failed to appear for the program. [redacted] stated the play will be held on April 25, 1969, which will close the program. [redacted] stated the program was very loosely organized and was considered a failure as none of the scheduled speakers, except CHICO and KOKO appeared. [redacted] stated that the talks by the Black Panthers did not appear to be overly impressive to the students and through inquiry he was unable to obtain any information that the Black Panther Party has any support on the campus. (U)

On [redacted] CARVER GENE NEBLETT, also known as CHICO, and DOROTHY JEAN MC QUEEN HUGHES, also known as KOKO, as being identical to the two speakers on April 21, 1969. (U)

Characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

167
4*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 24, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] reported that ROBERT GREER was apparently the head of the Black Panther group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and WILLIAM RICE and JULIUS CORNELL are also members. [REDACTED] advised that THURMOND DUBOISE was at the first organization of the BPP held at the House of Commons, however, has had no contact with DUBOISE in view of the fact that GREER thinks the House of Commons is bugged and he and several others have been meeting at GREER's residence (u)

On [REDACTED] reported that there are approximately 20 members of the Black Panther group in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which group is not chartered or recognized by the National BPP organization. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that on the Saturday before [REDACTED] the Black Panther unit in Winston-Salem had [REDACTED]

EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY. ENCLOSURE 105-165706-8

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

had physical training at Paisley High School and the Wednesday before that at Kennedy Junior High School.

[REDACTED] stated there were approximately 20 members present, one of whom was identified as JESSIE STITT. [REDACTED] said that the Secretary-Treasurer of the Winston-Salem group was NELSON MALLOY. (u)

[REDACTED] advised he knew of approximately 15 individuals who appear to be members of the BPP. [REDACTED] advised one of these individuals was known as NATE. (u)

[REDACTED]

On April 24, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] a student at Winston-Salem State Teachers College; and [REDACTED] who worked with the "Experiment in Self Reliance", Winston-Salem, North Carolina, have in the past been in contact with individuals from Greensboro, North Carolina, concerning BPP matters. (u)

Attached is a characterization of the BPP. [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIXBLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite. Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Memorandum at Charlotte, N. C.,
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

CE 100-FEW

PAGE TWO

WHITE HOUSE INN. NO VIOLENCE IS PLANNED AND THE GROUP IS TO HAVE A "POSTER PARTY" ON NIGHT OF JULY TEN NINETEEN SIXTYNINE TO PREPARE PICKET SIGNS, WHICH ARE TO BE AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR AND TO INDICATE THAT WHILE A GROUP OF HIGH RANKING POLITICIANS ARE HAVING A BANQUET, POOR IN UNITED STATES ARE TO GO HUNGRY.

[REDACTED] WHO ADVISED THE GROUP WAS HOPEING TO HAVE ONE TO TWO THOUSAND PERSONS FOR THE DEMONSTRATION HOWEVER [REDACTED] ADVISED THERE WOULD BE LESS THAN FIVE HUNDRED EXPECTED WITH THE DEMONSTRATION PLANNED TO BE PEACEFUL.

SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

LIAISON BEING MAINTAINED WITH SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES. FURTHER INFORMATION WILL BE SUBMITTED AS RECEIVED. NO LHM FOLLOWS. UNLESS ADVISED TO THE CONTRARY BY THE BUREAU ANTICIPATES HAVING AGENTS DISCREETLY OBSERVE DEMONSTRATION

END PAGE TWO.

CE 100-NEW

PAGE THREE

AND TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS OF DEMONSTRATORS DISCREETLY.

END.

GUM

FBI WASH DC

FBI

Date: 7/23/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
FOREIGN SUPPORT
RM

Re Director's airtel to SAC, Albany and others dated 7/16/69 enclosing a letter from Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, requesting data concerning foreign support of the BPP Organization.

A review of Charlotte files failed to develop any indication that BPP members within N. C. have received or requested assistance from a foreign Government, its representatives or foreign political organizations.

EX-116

REC-33

105-165706-8-53

JUL 25 1969

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Charlotte

THG:dmw

(4)

RACIAL M. SECT.
JUL 25 1969

Approved: 127

Sent _____

M

Per _____

55 AUG 5 1969

Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 7/18/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RMRe Bureau airtel 6/24/69, captioned "DEVELOPMENT
OF INFORMANTS IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM."

Review of page 7 of the 3/9/69 issue of the
"Black Panther" fails to reflect that any of the individuals
mentioned thereon as having been expelled from the Black
Panther Party as residing within the Charlotte Division.

As the Bureau is aware, there is no actual
chartered organization of the Black Panther Party within the
Charlotte Division and the only actual member of the Black
Panther Party within the Charlotte Division, considered a
renegade by the national headquarters is JOSE RENE GONZALVEZ.

Agents handling investigation of the Black Panther
Party within North Carolina are all aware of the need for
information and informant coverage within the Black Panther
Party and have been made aware of the fact that immediate
interviews of persons determined to be out of favor with the
leaders of their individual groups must be conducted on a
timely basis. Supervisory personnel responsible for the
handling of investigations within the Black Panther Party are
also alert to the necessity of interviewing Black Panther Party
dissidents and those out of favor and where not immediately
conducted by the individual, case agents are instructed to
do so by the supervisory staff.

- ② - Bureau
1 - San Francisco (Info.)
2 - Charlotte

REC 9

THG:sjw

(5)

Approved: *RHH*

51 AUG 4 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.

12 JUL 23 1969

Transmit the following in

F.B.I.

Date: 7/15/69

Via AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

(Priority)

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub. 8)

FROM:

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)

SUBJECT:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

Identify himself other than to say he was from Greensboro, North Carolina, contacted the BPP National Distribution Office in SF, Calif., advising that, even though there is no recognized BPP Chapter in North Carolina, he has a group that would like to attend the National Conference For A United Front Against Fascism sponsored by the BPP in Oakland, Calif. on 7/18-21/69. The caller did not further identify himself or his group, but it was indicated through source that the caller has an unofficial group of BP.

The caller was told that he and his associates are welcome to attend the conference and BPP National Headquarters will find a place for them to stay.

Source also identified himself as [redacted] on 7/14/69 an individual who North Carolina, contacted BPP National Shaw University, Raleigh, requesting information concerning the National Distribution Office, SF, United Front Against Fascism. [redacted] advised that he is going to try to attend this conference at which time he will discuss with BPP National Headquarters the distribution of "The Black Panther" Newspaper in North Carolina.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 157-3872) (NCUFAF)
 - (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION)
 - (1 - 157-1969) (TRAVEL)

REC-52 105-165706-8-51

X-117

JUL 18 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

RNB:mem
(8)

Appro

66 AUG 11 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

SF 157-2861

RNB:mam

[REDACTED] advised that on 7/14/69 an unidentified male contacted BPP National Headquarters advising that seven individuals will attend the conference in Oakland and will arrive in Oakland about 7/17/69. These individuals were not further identified either by name or organization; and therefore, it was not possible to determine if these were the same individuals mentioned above as being the group from Greensboro, North Carolina.

[REDACTED] also advised that on 7/14/69 an individual who identified himself only as [REDACTED] of Greensboro, North Carolina, contacted BPP National Headquarters stating that he planned to attend the National Conference in Oakland accompanied by an individual named NIXON. He said he and NIXON will depart Greensboro on 7/14/69 en route to Oakland. Likewise, [REDACTED] and NIXON were not further identified.

The above is furnished for the information of the Charlotte Division to assist in identifying BPP Organizations, members, and sympathizers and determining the activity thereof.

If Charlotte is able to identify any individuals affiliated with black or white militant groups who will attend the National Conference For A United Front Against Fascism in Oakland, Calif. on 7/18-21/69, SF should be so advised.

If any of the above information is disseminated outside the Bureau, it must be suitably paraphrased to protect this very sensitive source.

F B I

Date: 5/28/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
ATTN: PHOTOGRAPHIC UNIT

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

0 BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RMRECEIVED
DEVELOPED
PRINTED
ENLARGEMENTS
COPIED
INSPECTEDact. Mech. Sec.
enlarge made & neg.
6-16-69
omdEnclosed for the Bureau is one spool of film
received 5/28/69 from [REDACTED]The film which is in color depicts individuals
who describe themselves as members of the Black Panther
Party (BPP) at an organizational rally on 5/24/69 at
Charlotte.The Photographic Unit is requested to make a
copy of the color film and thereafter reproduce three copies
of photographs from this film, at least 3" x 5" in size,
showing each group or individual depicted in the film.
Upon completion, the Bureau is requested to return the
enclosure and the completed photographs and color film
to Charlotte for identification purposes at which time
they will be returned to the Bureau.2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
2 - Charlotte
THG:bjt
(4)

EX-102

REC-60

105-165706-8-50

7/22
25 MAY 30 1969FBI
66AUG-1 1969ENCLOSURE - det + ret.
to Charlotte
6/16/69
omd

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

8776

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

July 17, 1969

Director, FBI (105-165706) - 849

REC-57

EX-117

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM

Jaw

Reference is made to your communication dated 6/27/69 transmitting
☐ negative(s) ☒ film ☐ photograph(s) ☐ document(s) ☐
 pertaining to the above-captioned matter.

In accordance with your request ☐ film has been developed
☐ enlargement(s) made
☒ positive copy made
☒ print(s) made
☐ slide(s) made
☒ negative(s) made
☐ Photostats made

The above is ☒ attached
☐ being sent under separate cover, via ☐ registered mail
☐ REA Express

[REDACTED]

819 920

MAILED 20
 JUL 17 1969
 COMM-FBI

von _____
 Leach _____
 t _____
 hop _____
 sper _____
 llohan _____
 ed _____

312

Enc. 63

S: smd

JUL 29 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 6/27/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 ATTENTION: PHOTOGRAPHIC SECTION,
 FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RM

RECEIVED
 DEVELOPED
 PRINTED
 ENLARGEMENTS
 COPIED
 INSPECTED

Enclosed for the Bureau is one reel of 16 millimeter color film in a metal case.

A public rally was sponsored by the Afro-American Unity Organization, Freedom Park, Charlotte, N. C., on 6/22/69. The Afro-American Unity Organization at Charlotte is attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, Oakland, California. The enclosed film was made by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] desires the return of the original film. [REDACTED] stated that he has advised [REDACTED] that a copy will be made of the film and the original returned to him as soon as possible.

The FBI Laboratory is requested to make an actual copy of the 16 millimeter color film, thereafter preparing negatives and making color prints at least 4"x5" in size. These negatives and prints should include at least one photograph of each individual or group depicted in the film. Furnish Charlotte with four copies of each photograph reproduced along with the negative.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte

THG:rep
 (5)

REC-57

105-165706

ENCLOSURE

EX-111

15 color prints

60 color prints

22

JUL 2 1969

7/17/69

HBC

7-17-69

HBC

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

HOLD MAIL

Sent

M

Per

0009

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The Laboratory is requested to return the original 16 millimeter film and metal case, along with the copies of the photographs and negatives, to the Charlotte Division.

JUN 1 3 22 PM '68

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

F B I
PHOTO UNIT

- 2 -

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

100-400000

[illegible]

THUNDER THIRTY PM UNTIL FIVE THIRTY PM VIOLENT THUNDER
STILL RAGED CHARLOTTE. AT APPROXIMATELY SIX PM DEMONSTRATORS
BEGAN FORMING AND BY SEVEN FIFTY PM NUMBERED APPROXIMATELY
FIFTY-ONE TO THIRTY, INCLUDING NINE MEN WEARING ALL BLACK
INCLUDING BLACK BELTS. DEMONSTRATORS WENT ABOUT 100 FEET OF
U. S. POST OFFICE BUILDING, CHARLOTTE UNTIL APPROXIMATELY SEVEN
THIRTY PM. WHICH TIME PROCEEDED TO WHITE HOUSE INN WHERE THEY
STAYED UNTIL APPROXIMATELY EIGHT THIRTY PM CARRYING SIGNS
SAYING "END VIET NAM WAR AND VICE-PRESIDENT AGNEW. ON DEPARTURE
A VERBAL CONFRONTATION OCCURRED BETWEEN DEMONSTRATORS AND
THREE U. S. ARMY IN UNIFORM DURING WHICH ONE STORE
WAS DAMAGED WITH ONE MEMBER U. S. ARMY RECEIVING SLIGHT INJURY.
WENT BACK TO STREET UP BY CHARLOTTE PD WITH NO ARRESTS MADE.

366
66 JUL 24 1969

NOT RECORDED
162 JUL 17 1969

西印度洋

CE 100-10747

PAGE TWO

AND DEMONSTRATORS DISPERSED. NO FURTHER INCIDENTS AS OF
MIDNIGHT.

REPRESENTATIVES OF NIS, SECRET SERVICE, AND LOCAL
AUTHORITIES ON SCENE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TODAY.

NO LHM FOLLOWS.

END

SVY

FBI WASH TO

To White House, AG, Secret
Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI,
OSI, DIA, by tel 7-17-61.

CC's to DAG; AAG; CHOICE
11, 11, 11 NIS,
EDIU, Vice-President 3-17-61.

COPI SENT

EDIU

YEROK

100-10747

United States Attorney
Charlotte, North Carolina

July 10, 1969

WLR:JHRosenberg:daw
145-12-1320

William D. Ruckelshaus
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division
By: Harland P. Leathers, Chief
General Litigation Section
Ben Chavis, et al. v. J. C. Goodman, Jr., et al.
Civil Action No. 2490 (U.S.D.C. W.D. N.C.).

Your letter to the Criminal Division of this Department of June 9, 1969 has been referred to this office for reply.

Plaintiffs in the captioned action are numerous Negro sympathizers with the Black Panther movement in Charlotte, North Carolina. The defendants are local and State police and other employees and Federal employees. The specifically named Federal employees are Stanley Noel, Special Agent (or Investigator) of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department, and Dean Farnham, Special Agent of the FBI. However, in addition to those specifically named Federal employees, the complaint included as defendants, under a "John Kilroy" alias, other Federal employees whose names are unknown to plaintiffs and who allegedly participated in the acts charged in the complaint.

The complaint is grounded on defendants' alleged invasion of plaintiffs' civil rights in connection with arrests, searches of premises and seizure of various articles of property. The principal relief sought from the defendants is money damage. However, the complaint also prays for an injunction against further harassment or intimidation of plaintiffs or from defendants' obtaining arrest or search warrants or executing the same except according to proper legal procedures.

You are authorized to represent the Treasury Department employees and the FBI employees, both those who are specifically named in the complaint and those who may be encompassed within the "John Kilroy" alias.

You should move to dismiss the complaint or for summary judgment as indicated below. However, since some time will doubtless be required in connection with obtaining the necessary information and preparing the motion papers, with supporting affidavits and memorandums of law, you should move for a suitable extension of time.

REC 16

105-165706-8-48

JUL 14 1969

JUL 21 1969

PERS. SEC. UNIT

EXP. PROC.

30 JUL 14 1969

Claim for damages

The motion to dismiss or for summary judgment should be grounded on the doctrine of official immunity, *vis.*, that the acts of the Federal defendants were performed in the exercise of their official duties or within the outer perimeter of those duties. Barr v. Matteo, 360 U.S. 564, 569, *et seq.* (1959); Holmes v. Eddy, 341 F.2d 477, 479-480 (4th Cir. 1965), *cert. den.*, 382 U.S. 892; Norton v. McShane, 332 F.2d 855 (5th Cir. 1964), *cert. den.*, 380 U.S. 981; West v. Garrett, 392 F.2d 543 (5th Cir. 1968). The motion should be supported by affidavits by each of the Federal defendants and by a higher level superior.

With respect to the Treasury Department defendants, we enclose herewith copies of signed statements by the specifically named defendant Stanley Noel as well as by John E. Wurtels, Owen D. Bean and Earl W. Blake. These statements reflect that all their acts were performed properly and legally and in the course of their official duties. You should utilize those statements as the framework for the affidavits to be executed and filed in support of the motion for summary judgment on behalf of the Treasury Department employees. However the affidavits by those Treasury Department defendants should expressly recite, by way of conclusion, that all their acts were performed in the exercise of their official duties or within the outer perimeter of those duties. The supporting affidavit by the higher level Treasury Department official should recite that he has read the affidavits of the Treasury defendants and that he concurs in their conclusion that all their acts were performed in the exercise of their official duties or within the outer perimeter of such duties.

Your memorandum of law in support of the motion to dismiss or for summary judgment should emphasize that the doctrine of official immunity has as its rationale not only the exoneration of Government officials and employees from a civil judgment for tort liability but also for relieving them of the burden and expense of going to trial in defense of acts performed in the exercise of their official duties or within the outer perimeter of such duties. See Barr v. Matteo, 360 U.S. 564, 571 (1959); Tenney v. Brandhove, 341 U.S. 367, 377 (1951).

We have requested a report from the Director of the FBI with respect to the acts by the specifically named defendant, FBI Agent Dean Parmann, as well as his associates who may be encompassed within the "John Kilroy" alias in the complaint. Upon our receipt of such report we will forward the same to you in order that you may prepare the necessary affidavits by the FBI defendants and their superior along the lines indicated above for the affidavits by the Treasury Department defendants and their superior.

Claim for injunctive relief

With respect to the demand in the complaint for injunctive relief, you should move to dismiss on behalf of the Federal defendants on the ground that the action is in reality a suit against the United States to which it has not consented and of which the Court lacks jurisdiction. Land v. Dollar, 330 U.S. 731, 738 (1947); Larson v. Domestic & Foreign Corp., 337 U.S. 682, 704 (1949); Doran v. Bank, 372 U.S. 609, 620 (1963); Hawaii v. Gordon, 373 U.S. 57, 58 (1963). The Supreme Court held in those cases that, notwithstanding that the nominal defendants are agencies or officials of the Government, the action is in reality against the United States if the judgment will interfere with the public administration or if the effect of the judgment would be to restrain the Government from acting or to compel it to act.

Please forward to us copies of the papers filed herein and continue to keep us informed of developments.

Enclosures

cc: Treasury Department
Internal Revenue Service
Washington, D. C. 20224

Attention: Office of Chief Counsel
(Your Ref: CC:ATF-9701 L:MJD)

✓ cc: Director, FBI

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date July 2, 1969

Attached letter from Civil Division of Department mentions Agent of Charlotte Office named as defendant in civil complaint and requests facts in this matter and whether we desire U.S. Attorney in Charlotte, North Carolina, to represent Agent named in this matter.

Facts previously furnished to Assistant Attorneys General, Internal Security Division and Criminal Division by letters dated 6/4/69 and 6/16/69 and they were advised Charlotte Agent in no way involved in this matter which involved arrests and searches of premises by Charlotte Police Department and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of Treasury Department.

Copies of above-mentioned letters 6/4/69 and 6/16/69 being furnished Civil Division by letter and it is being advised that facts in this case have been brought to the attention of U.S. Attorney in Charlotte and that we desire him to handle our interests in this case.

gkw
GES:ekw

WCH *JS* *JS* *JS*
COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : William D. Ruckelshaus
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division

SUBJECT: ~~Benchavis, et al v. J. C. Goodman, Jr., et al~~
~~Civil Action No. 2490 (U.S.D.C. W.D. N.C.)~~

I forward herewith a copy of a civil complaint in the captioned action in which one of the named defendants is Special Agent Dean Parmann of the FBI, presumably stationed in or about Charlotte, North Carolina. The complaint charges Parmann, together with other named defendants, with violating plaintiffs' civil rights in connection with certain arrests, searches of premises and seizure of various articles of property. Under a "John Kilroy" alias, the complaint also includes as defendants other Federal enforcement agents or officials whose names are unknown to plaintiffs but who allegedly participated in the acts charged in the complaint.

I shall appreciate your furnishing me with a report of the acts by Special Agent Parmann and his other associates in the Bureau, if any, with respect to the matters charged in the complaint. Please also advise me whether you and such individuals desire that they be represented by the United States Attorney in Charlotte, North Carolina, in the defense of the action.

Enclosure

REC-103

105-165706-8-46

25 JUL 1969

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

56 JUL 24 1969

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

31 JUL 1 1969

PROC.

Blackburn, Warren, and
Champfle

United States Attorney
Charlotte, North Carolina

July 14, 1969

W.R.; J. Rosenberg:aw
105-12-438

William D. Roskelshaus
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division
By: Hayland F. Leathers, Chief
General Litigation Section
Re: Chavis, et al. v. J. C. Goodman, Jr., et al.
Civil Action No. 2490 (U.S.D.C. W.D. N.C.).

This supplements our memorandum to you of July 10, 1969, in which we suggested the course of procedure to be followed in connection with your defense of the captioned action on behalf of the Federal defendants. The memorandum specifically discussed the substance of the affidavits to be prepared in support of a motion for summary judgment.

We believe that it would be advisable for you to submit a draft of the proposed affidavits for our examination before they are executed and filed.

Thank you for your cooperation.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

cc: Treasury Department
Internal Revenue Service
Washington, D. C. 20224

Attention: Office of Chief Counsel
(Your Ref: CC:ATF-9701 L:MJD)

cc: Director, FBI

EX-114

REC 16 2/05-165706-8-47

17 JUL 15 1969

3/2
30 JUL 20 1969

SEN

FIVE

4-224 (R. V. 7-18-64)
SAC, CLEVELAND (157-6171)

June 16, 1969

Director, FBI (105-105706)

[Handwritten signature]
COMMUNIST PARTY

Reference is made to your communication dated 5/22/69
☐ negative(s) ☒ film ☐ photograph(s) ☐ document(s) ☐
pertaining to the above-captioned matter.

transmitting

In accordance with your request ☐ film has been developed
☐ enlargement(s) made
☐ positive copy made
☐ print(s) made
☐ slide(s) made
☒ negative(s) made
☐ Photostats made

The above is ☐ attached
☐ being sent under separate cover, via ☐ registered mail
☐ REA Express

[Handwritten signature]
[Redacted area]
[Redacted area]

MAILED 24
JUN 16 1969
COMM-FBI

NO

19

Enc. 135

105-105706-135
AUG 1 1969

(4) MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

June 4, 1969

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. DeBruler
(Division Six)

1 - [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

On May 28, 1969, Attorney at Law George S. Daly telephonically contacted the Charlotte, North Carolina, Division of this Bureau. Mr. Daly stated that he represents Michael Grant Laney and James Covington, who were recently arrested in a raid at their residence, 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, by the Charlotte Police Department. He related that after interviewing his clients and other witnesses he desired to lodge a complaint about the illegal search of the residence at 316 South Turner Street by the FBI and because this residence had been under constant surveillance.

Mr. Daly was informed that the arrests of his clients were not made by Special Agents of this Bureau and that public source information available indicated that the arrests were made by the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department and Special Agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division. He was also informed that Special Agents of this Bureau did not participate in any manner in the search of the residence at 316 South Turner Street and that the search of the residence was actually conducted, according to newspaper accounts, by the Charlotte Police Department and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division Agents in connection with the arrests which were made.

REC-40 105-165706-8-45
19 JUL 15 1969

Mr. Daly did not acknowledge the explanation furnished concerning the fact that the FBI was not involved in this matter and instead said that he had been told by his clients that FBI Agent L. Dean Paarmann had been a member of the raiding party

05-165706

S:ekw

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

on the residence along with 40 other law enforcement officers. Mr. Daly added that within the next four to five days it is his intention to go into the U. S. District Court at Charlotte and obtain a temporary restraining order prohibiting law enforcement officers from harassing his clients.

Special Agent L. Dean Paarmann of this Bureau advised that he had not been a member of any raiding party at 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, on May 27, 1969, on which date Michael Grant Laney and James Covington were arrested by the Charlotte Police Department and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Agents. Special Agent Paarmann also denied ever having entered this residence. Special Agent Paarmann also advised that he had not participated in a constant surveillance of this residence and had no knowledge that this residence was, in fact, under any constant surveillance. Special Agent Paarmann stated he had no knowledge that this residence was illegally searched at the time of the aforementioned raid.

Information appearing in the May 28, 1969, edition of the "Charlotte Observer," the May 28, 1969, edition of the "Charlotte News," and the May 29, 1969, edition of the "Charlotte Observer," described the events surrounding the arrests of Laney and Covington and that a raid had been conducted on the residence at 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, by officers connected with the Charlotte Police Department and the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service.

Special Agent Paarmann advised that at approximately 11 AM on May 28, 1969, he talked with Michael Laney and James Covington at the Mecklenburg County Jail after they had been arrested and incarcerated. The reason for interviewing these individuals was to obtain information concerning a possible violation of the Antiriot Laws in an official investigation

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

concerning
noted that

[REDACTED] In this regard it is
is wanted by the local
police at Charlotte, North Carolina, for an attempted armed
robbery of a local cab driver which took place approximately
one week earlier. This Bureau's interest in [REDACTED] in
connection with a possible Antiriot Laws violation is not
related to the armed robbery charge for which he is currently
being sought by the Charlotte Police Department.

The information set forth above has been furnished
to the United States Attorney, Charlotte, North Carolina.

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

NOTE:

Information furnished by the Charlotte Division
in an airtel dated 5/29/69. An informative note was prepared
advising that a letter incorporating the allegations and
denial of the allegations would be submitted to the Internal
Security and Criminal Divisions of the Department.

FBI

Date: 7/2/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Knoxville teletype to Bureau dated 6/27/69.

[REDACTED]

advised his company was previously contacted by BOB LEWIS, who described himself as a vice president of Carrolene Company, 2611 Gordon Road, Northwest Atlanta, Georgia. After initial contact, an order was received from this company on 5/12/69 for 1,440 boys T-shirts and 6,000 men's T-shirts, color black. It was requested on this black T-shirt be written in white letters "I'm black and I'm proud." Below that in brown and white is a likeness of JAMES BROWN and below that in brown letters the name JAMES BROWN. He advised there had been some difficulty filling this order, as this company did not have a credit rating. He stated he preferred not to have the lettering done in his shop and planned to send these T-shirts to Southern Creators, 424 West Third Street, Charlotte, N. C., for the screen printing. He said he had been in telephonic conversation with R. O. CANNON, who was the president of Carrolene Company, who indicated this would be only a preliminary order and that they planned a high volume of sales of this T-shirt in various chain stores.

[REDACTED] said he may discontinue working with this company due to their lack of a credit rating and the fact they seemed to have difficulty "getting together."

2 - Bureau
 2 - Atlanta
 2 - Knoxville
 2 - Charlotte
 DBM:rep

66 JUL 17 1969

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

RACIAL INT. SECT.

REC-115 105-165706-8-44
 JUL 7 1969

A
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Division

July 8, 1969

Director, FBI

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to your letter dated June 30, 1969, your file number 145-12-1320, entitled "Ben Chavis, et al v. J. C. Goodman, Jr., et al Civil Action No. 2490 (U.S.D.C. W.D. N.C.)."

Enclosed herewith is one copy each of letters dated June 4 and June 16, 1969, directed to the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, which set forth the background information in this matter.

For your further information, this matter has been discussed with the United States Attorney in Charlotte, North Carolina, who has indicated that he will represent Special Agent Dean Paarmann in response to the summons served on Special Agent Paarmann.

The enclosures referred to in the June 16, 1969, letter were copies of the complaint and summons issued on June 6, 1969, in United States District Court, Western District of North Carolina, which are already in your possession.

Enclosures - 2

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

1 - Charlotte (Enclosures) - 3)

SEE NOTE FOR CHARLOTTE PAGE TWO

:ekw (8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

JUL 24 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

806 D

REC-5 105-165706-8-43

5 JUL 10 1969

Assistant Attorney General
Civil Division

NOTE TO SAC, CHARLOTTE:

Enclosed herewith is one copy each of Bureau letters to the Department dated June 4 and June 16, 1969, which are self-explanatory. Also enclosed is one copy of departmental letter dated June 30, 1969.

NOTE:

Informative note dated 7/2/69 advised that the Civil Division of the Department would be furnished copies of letters dated 6/4/69 and 6/16/69 which set forth background information concerning this civil action. A Special Agent of the Charlotte Office has been named as a codefendant in a civil complaint filed at Charlotte, North Carolina, by the Attorney for several individuals affiliated with the Black Panther Party in connection with their arrests and a search of the residence of one of the individuals. The Charlotte Office and the Special Agent named as a defendant played no role in this matter and the arrests and search were conducted by Special Agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department in conjunction with the Charlotte Police Department.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)

DATE: 7/1/69

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
REVOLUTIONARY CONVENTION
7/18-21/69
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/23/69; and
San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 6/10/69.

A canvass of Charlotte informants familiar
with Black Panther Party affairs has failed to reveal
anyone who is from North Carolina planning to attend
captioned convention.

[REDACTED] advised that the convention has
been mentioned by persons at Charlotte, North Carolina;
however, no one plans to attend due to the lack of finances.

[REDACTED] has advised that in contacts
at Winston-Salem and Greensboro, North Carolina, there
was some interest in the convention. However, no one
apparently has an invitation and ERIC PATRICK BROWN, the
self-described area captain for Greensboro, is presently
[REDACTED]

It is noted that there are no known chartered
Black Panther Party groups in North Carolina at the present
time. Therefore, it is unlikely that any group will receive
a specific invitation; however, Charlotte will remain alert
to any developments and keep the Bureau and San Francisco
advised.

(2)- Bureau
2 - San Francisco (157-3872) EX-115
2 - Charlotte
THG:dmb

(6)



5010-108-01

51 JUL 15 1969

149

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

105-165706-8-42

REC-53 4 JUL 3 1969

RACIAL P. 5010-108-01

FBI

Date: 6/19/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)

(Priority)

Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by [redacted] a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, on 6/17/69:

An unidentified man in the North Carolina area advised that he was sending a report to [redacted] of the Distribution Office of the newspaper as to what was going on down there. The man claimed that they had found "some informants in the group," and also JOSE GONZALVEZ, from Conn., had been down there but the caller claimed that he had ostracized him and told him to stay away.

The caller last saw GONZALVEZ in Fayetteville. The caller also said that they still had some papers on hand.

The above is furnished to Charlotte to give them the current information on BPP activities in that Division.

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Charlotte
- 1 - San Francisco
- WAC/pae
- (5)

REC-24 105-165706-8-41

12 JUN 27 1969

3 JUL 2 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 6/10/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Airtel

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 5/29/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies each of a complaint and summons issued 6/6/69 in USDC, WDNC.

On 6/9/69, SA L. DEAN PAARMANN of the Charlotte Office of the FBI was served with a summons by a Deputy United States Marshal indicating that he had been named as one of the defendants in a civil action filed on 6/6/69 with the Clerk of USDC, WDNC.

This complaint and motion for temporary restitution order and a motion of preliminary injunction alleged that SA PAARMANN participated in a raid along with 40 other law enforcement officers at a residence in Charlotte, N. C., on 5/27/69.

The Bureau was afforded affidavit executed by SA PAARMANN on 5/29/69 categorically denying any such participation.

It should be noted that the plaintiff in this matter specifically named representatives of the FBI; Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the U. S. Treasury Department; a Special Agent of the N. C. State Bureau of Investigation; the chief and members of the Mecklenburg Co., N. C., PD; and the chief and certain members of the Charlotte, N. C., PD.

As a result of this action, a meeting was held on the afternoon of 6/9/69 with USA JAMES O. ISRAEL, JR., WDNC, Asheville, N. C., and representatives of the defendants in this matter.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

2 - Charlotte

LDP:bjt

(4)

Approved: _____

70 JUN 23 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ENCLOSURE
REC 107

105-165706-8-40

2 JUN 11 1969

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Mr. ISRAEL advised that he intended to telephonically contact the U. S. Department of Justice in Washington for any assistance they could offer and also to personally contact the legal counsel for the IRS in Atlanta, Ga.; the AG for the State of North Carolina; and the Mecklenburg County and Charlotte City attorneys.

Mr. ISRAEL indicated some concern regarding this complaint because of the possibility that U. S. District Court Judge JAMES P. MC MILLAN appears to have been in contact with the plaintiffs' attorney several times within the past week.

The plaintiffs' attorney, Mr. GEORGE S. DALY, local ACLU lawyer, is well known in the Charlotte area for his representation of a group of hippie-type individuals who have been involved in certain local violations and who were successful in obtaining a restraining order against so-called police harrassment.

RECEIVED 2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

☒ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

Court documents exempt from
disclosure

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-40 enclosure

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives - do not ill treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from an attacking army.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER	CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
<p>Political Prisoner Minister of Defense MURRAY NEWTON</p> <p>Chairman BOBBY SEALE</p> <p>Editor Minister of Information EDRIDGE CLEAVER</p> <p>Managing Editor Deputy Minister of Information BIG ALAN</p> <p>Revolutionary Artist and Lay-out Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS</p> <p>Lay-out Assistant JOHN SEALE</p> <p>Co-Editor FRANK JONES</p> <p>Distribution Manager ANDREW AUSTIN</p> <p>Circulation SAM NAPIER</p>	<p>Minister of Defense MURRAY NEWTON</p> <p>Chairman BOBBY SEALE</p> <p>Minister of Information EDRIDGE CLEAVER</p> <p>Chief of Staff DAVID WILLARD</p> <p>Field Marshals UNDERGROUND</p> <p>Minister of Education GILBERT TURKLEY</p> <p>Minister of Finance MURRAY NEWTON</p> <p>Minister of Foreign Affairs ANDREW AUSTIN</p> <p>Minister of Justice FRANK JONES</p> <p>Prime Minister STACEY CARMICHAEL</p> <p>Communications Secretary EDRIDGE CLEAVER</p> <p>Minister of Culture EMORY DOUGLAS</p>

The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3108 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found smuggling narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 16-16-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the identity laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Director, FBI

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
June 16, 1969

Reference is made to our letter dated June 4, 1969, in which it was set forth that Special Agent L. Dean Paarman of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Division of this Bureau denied that he had in any way participated in the arrests of the clients represented by Attorney George S. Daly. The other allegations made by Attorney Daly against Special Agent Paarman were also denied.

Enclosed herewith for your information is one copy each of a complaint and summons issued on June 6, 1969, in the United States District Court, Western District of North Carolina. In this regard, on June 9, 1969, Special Agent Paarman was served with the summons by a Deputy United States Marshal inasmuch as Special Agent Paarman had been named as one of the defendants in a civil action filed on June 6, 1969, with the Clerk of the United States District Court.

Following the receipt of the above-mentioned summons, a meeting was held on the afternoon of June 9, 1969, with United States Attorney James O. Israel, Jr., Western District of North Carolina at Asheville, North Carolina. During this meeting, Mr. Israel advised that it was his intention to telephonically contact a representative of the Justice Department in Washington, D. C., for assistance concerning this matter.

Enclosures - 2

REC-71

1 - Assistant Attorney General (Enclosures 2)
Criminal Division

GES:cas
(5)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

The Assistant Attorneys General of the Internal Security and
Allegations

1969 TELETYPE UNIT

**Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division**

NOTE CONTINUED:

by Attorney at Law, George S. Daly on 5/28/69 that he desired to lodge a complaint concerning the FBI's involvement in an illegal search of the residence of his clients at Charlotte, North Carolina, which took place on 5/27/69. He also complained that the FBI had kept this residence under surveillance and that Special Agent Paarman had been specifically involved in the arrests of his clients. Attorney Daly was informed that the FBI took no part in the raid, in the arrests or in the search of the residence. He was also informed that the FBI had not participated in a surveillance of this residence. He ignored these explanations and stated his intention to obtain a court order restraining law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, from harassing his clients. Daly obtained these court orders on 6/6/69 and SA Paarman was served with a summons on 6/9/69 calling for an answer to the complaint within 20 days. Matter discussed with local U.S. Attorney; to contact the Justice Department. A copy of the complaint and summons being furnished to the Justice Department.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

☒ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

Court documents exempt from
disclosure

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-39 enclosure

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI

Date: 6/11/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)O BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM (BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM)

(BUDED 6/16/69)

Re Director's airtel, 5/15/69.

Although organization activities have been conducted by the BPP within the Charlotte Division, no information has been received from sources that a Breakfast for Children Program is in operation. There are no chartered groups of the BPP within North Carolina at this time.

Charlotte will remain alert to the BPP obtaining a charter and/or instituting a Breakfast for Children Program and the Bureau will be immediately advised.

REC-123

REC-123

EX-115 105-165706-8-38

17 JUN 13 1969

(2) - Bureau
- Charlotte13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

Sent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

F B I

Date: 5/27/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub. 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

_____ on 5/26/69 furnished the following information:

_____ from the State of North Carolina, further address not given, talked to one of the secretaries at the BPP Headquarters after he found that Chairman BOBBY SEALE was not available. _____ said that he formerly worked with the Community Development Demonstration in Richmond (believed to be Calif.) The secretary at Headquarters was able to find _____ who came on and advised _____ that there was no BPP Chapter in Charlotte, North Carolina. _____ replied there was some "dudes" in Charlotte marching around having demonstrations and claiming to be BP. _____ said that these people were "mad" and should be exposed. _____ said that he was director of welfare rights in the southern states and he wanted to expose these people. _____ instructed _____ to hold a press conference and "expose those fools before they lead the people to destruction". _____ requested Headquarters to send someone to deal with this problem. _____ said that they did not have anyone available to send at this time. _____ said that he would then attempt to expose "these cats" and would call _____ back as to how he made out. _____ said that he had already received other reports of these fools, as he called them, carrying on in North Carolina. _____ said it was not time to "off" them but it was

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco

(1 _____)
WAC:mam

REC-116

105-165706-8-37

17 MAY 29 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

59 JUN 20 1969 Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861

WAC:mam

time to expose them. [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] should have joined the BPP before he left Calif. as he would now understand the situation confronting him. [REDACTED] then went on to say that he was reluctant to expose these "cats" because of his efforts to enlist the black people of the south in his welfare rights campaign. The above information is sent for the information of Charlotte to indicate that an individual named [REDACTED] is interested in the BPP activities taking place in the Charlotte area. The information of this source should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing.